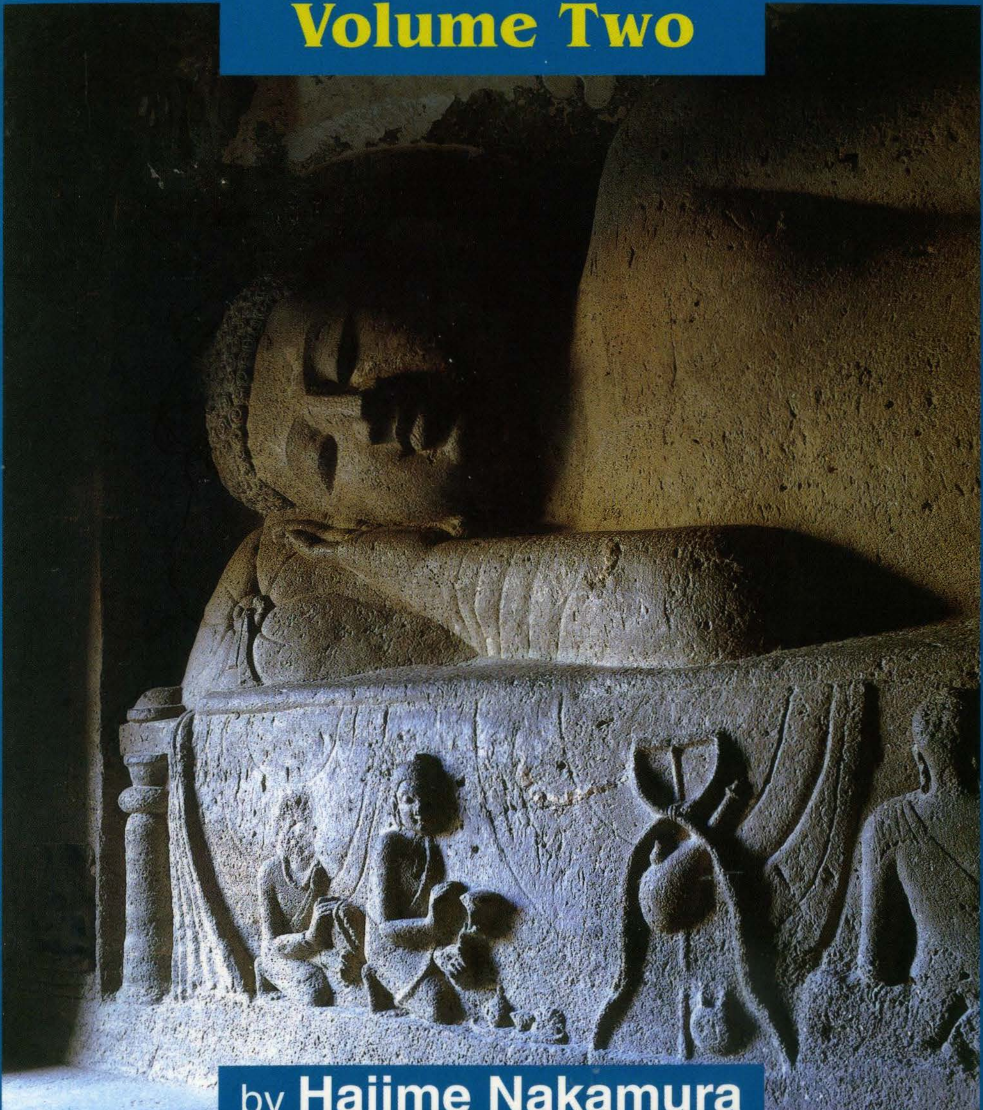
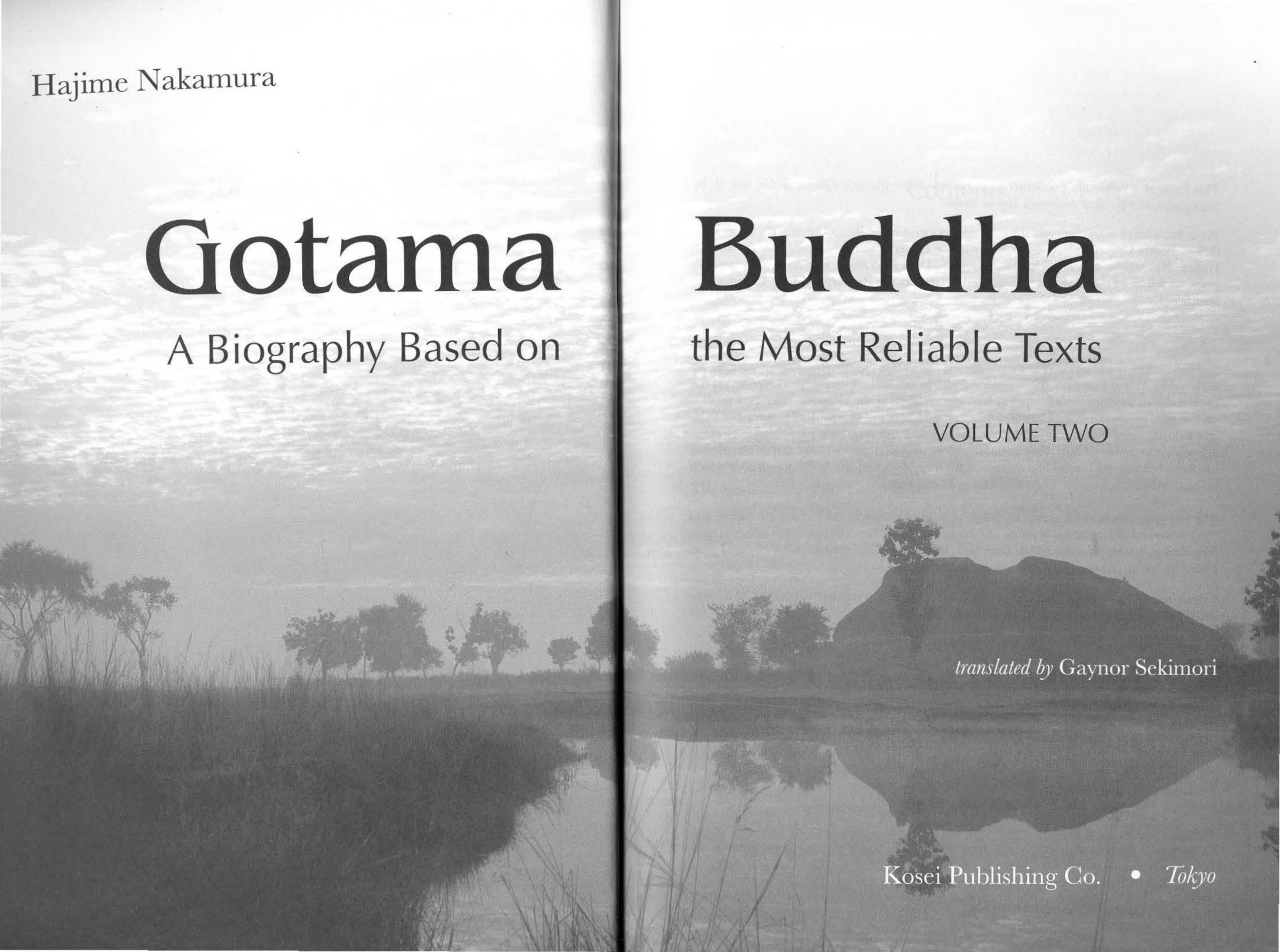
Gotama Buddha

A Biography Based on the Most Reliable Texts

Volume Two



by Hajime Nakamura



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VOLUME TWO

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Reproduced on the front cover is a stone carved relief titled "Sakyamuni Entering Nirvana," sculpted in Ajantā Cave no. 26 in central India in the seventh century. The relief on the back cover of the Buddha's footprints with the emblem of the Dharma Wheel on them is on the post of the north gateway of Stupa no. 1 at Sāñcī in central India. After the Buddha's death, since it was considered disrespectful and not fitting for his followers to make any concrete image of him, they created and worshipped not only the stupas enshrining his relics but also such symbolic images as his footprints and the bodhi-tree under which he attained enlightenment. Photos by Isamu Maruyama.

The title pages show the Ramabhar Stūpa, popularly known as the Cremation Stupa, and the Hirañyavatī River beside it about one kilometer east of the Nirvāṇa Stūpa at Kuśinagar. The Ramabhar Stūpa is thought to have been built on the site of the Buddha's funeral pyre. Photo by Isamu Maruyama.

Cover design by NOBU. The text of this book is set in a computer version of Monotype Baskerville with a computer version of Optima for display.

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Contents

Preface to Volume Two

Volume two of *Gotama Buddha* traces the Buddha's final journey, ending in his death at Kusinārā. It examines the gradual deification that occurred even within earliest Buddhism as his followers glorified their memories of him.

I have published, in Japanese, two previous works that deal with this subject:

1. *Budda saigo no tabi* (The Buddha's Last Journey; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), a translation of and commentary on the Pāli *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta*.

2. *Yugyō-kyō* (*Yu-hsing-ching*), in *Butten kōza* (Lectures on Buddhist Scriptures), vols. 1 and 2 (Kyoto: Daizō Shuppan, 1984, 1985), a comparative study of the Āgama text, *Yu-hsing-ching*, with its Pāli and Sanskrit equivalents and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, supplemented where necessary by other variant texts.

Whereas these two works are textual studies, the present volume is a description of the life of Gotama, considering him as a historical personage. It continues the themes developed in volume 1 and completes the biography of the Buddha begun there.

Hajime Nakamura
March 31, 1992

PART TWO

The Last Journey

7. Returning Home

Texts Dealing with the Last Journey

Near the end of his life, Gotama Buddha set out on a long journey, heading north from Rājagaha. The events that took place during that journey are recorded in the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* and in equivalent texts in other languages.

The earliest Buddhist texts are anthologies of many small sutras; they contain virtually no biographical details about Gotama. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (and the equivalent Sanskrit text and Chinese translations) is the longest single composition. It is also an exception to the general rule, giving a most vivid description of Gotama as a person and a detailed record of his last journey en route to his birthplace, from Vulture Peak on the outskirts of what was then India's largest city, Rājagaha, to the present Kuśīnagar,[1] where he died.

The demise of Gotama was a pivotal event for his followers. They lauded his death and the events immediately before and after it in a work called "The Great Death" (*mahāparinibbāna*), which afterward was handed down as a Buddhist sutra. Today there are at least ten texts (of very similar content) that describe the last journey in considerable detail. Without doubt the most widely known is the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. Following are descriptions of these texts and some notes on their reliability.

(a) The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*.

This is the sixteenth sutra of the Pāli *Dīgha-Nikāya* (Group of Long Dis-

courses). The text is T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, eds., *The Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. 2 (London: Pali Text Society, 1947), pp. 72–168. The major commentary is William Stede, ed., *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya*, 2 vols. (from materials left unfinished by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter) (London: Pali Text Society, 1971). A revised edition is Mahesh Tiwary, ed., *The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī: Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā*, 2 vols. (Nalanda: Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 1974, 1975). An English translation of the sutra appears in T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 3, vols. 2–4 of Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London: Luzac, 1971–73).[2]

The Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* does not seem to have been translated into Chinese; the versions of the text that appear in the Chinese canon appear to be based on Sanskrit originals. The *Yu-hsing-ching* in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* (Group of Long Discourses) is nearest to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. A modern Chinese translation is Pa Chou, *Nan-ch'uan Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (Taipei: Hui-chü Publishing, 1972). Dr. Pa Chou is world renowned for his scholarship; his criticism of the classical Chinese translations of Buddhist texts has been scathing. He justifies making a translation from Pāli into modern Chinese by stating, "The early translations of the Buddhist scriptures are not easy to read, and indeed difficult to understand without footnotes and comments. The worst thing is that they lost in part the original meaning. They are of little use and may even cause harm." It is noteworthy that a Chinese scholar is so critical of translations made into Chinese.

(b) The Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.
The Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* has not come down to us in complete form. Four sets of fragments from an original Sanskrit text have been discovered in Turfan. Though it appears to have been slightly influenced by a local dialect, the language is recognizably Sanskrit. The Sanskrit recension has been edited by Ernst Waldschmidt: *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 3 vols. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1950 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950–51).[3] The first part puts the fragments in order, while the second and third parts collate them with the Pāli, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin (in Chinese translation) recensions. A section of the third part also collates the *Mahāsudarśanasūtra* with the Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese recensions. Correspondences with descriptions in the Mūla-sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* are also noted. Incidentally, Professor Waldschmidt concludes that the Sanskrit recension belongs to the Mūla-sarvāstivādins.[4]

(c) The Mūla-sarvāstivādin *Vinayavastu*.
References to Sakyamuni's teaching ministry in his later years appear in this work, which was discovered at Gilgit and edited by Nalinaksha Dutt: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, 2d ed., vol. 3, part 1, no. 16 of Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica (Delhi: Satguru Publications, 1984). The tale of King Mahāsudarśana is also included in this recension (pp. 97–98). I have not had the opportunity to make a detailed study of this version; Professor Waldschmidt, however, has fully discussed the differences between this and the above Sanskrit version cited in (b), and his conclusions are sufficient for our purposes here.

(d) The text based on the Tibetan *Vinaya*, edited by Waldschmidt and cited in (b).

(e) *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, 2 fasc. (*T.* 1:176a–91a; no. 6), translator unknown.
No information is available about either the school that produced the original or the date of composition. A study of this recension by the Buddhist scholar Hakuju Ui, published posthumously,[5] indicates that the translation employs a variety of technical terms characteristic of the translator Chih Ch'ien (fl. 223–53), such as *t'ien-lun sheng-wang* ("wheel-rolling king"; *cakravarti-rāja*), *kou-kang* ("stream-enterer at attainment stage"; *srotāpanna*), *p'in-lai* ("once-returner at attainment stage"; *sakṛdāgāmin*), *pu-huan* ("nonreturner at attainment stage"; *anāgāmin*), *ying-chen* (*arhat*), and *yün-i-chiao* ("solitary buddha"; *pratyekabuddha*). Traditional sutra catalogs tend to make the same attribution. Therefore, Ui concludes that this sutra was translated by Chih Ch'ien.

Chih Ch'ien, of Scythian ancestry, arrived in China around the year 220, toward the end of the reign (189–220) of Hsien Ti, the last emperor of the Later Han dynasty. By around 228 he was very active in sutra translation and was made a doctor of letters by Sun Ch'üan (r. 222–51), the first emperor of the Wu dynasty. He worked at translation until 253, producing a great volume of work. Fifty-three sutras and texts attributed to him are extant. If he translated the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, that sutra would be the oldest of the Chinese recensions. Even if the attribution is not correct, the work is certainly very old. Compared with the other recensions, it shows special concern for political and ethical questions, suggestive of

rhetoric added by a translator who had a Confucian worldview. The sutra therefore deserves special attention as possibly the oldest of the Chinese recensions.[6]

All the same, recent research by Mr. Asao Iwamatsu suggests that the translator of the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* may have been Dharmarakṣa (Chu Fa-hu), on the grounds that the work seems to have been translated in reference to the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching,* the translation of which is attributed to Pai Fa-tsu.[7] This conclusion is based largely on an examination of accounts in the sutra catalogs; space limitations did not allow him to deal extensively with the use of technical terms. I cannot evaluate the arguments here, so leave this topic for further study.

(f) *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching,* 2 fasc. (*T.* 1:160b–75c; no. 5), translated by Pai Fa-tsu during the reign (290–306) of the emperor Hui Ti of the Western Chin dynasty.
In content it is very close to the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching.* According to the research of Mr. Asao Iwamatsu mentioned earlier, this sutra may have been translated by Chih Ch'ien. If so, it would become the oldest of all the translations.

(g) *Yu-hsing-ching,* 3 fasc. (*T.* 1:11a–30b), a sutra in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching,* jointly translated by Buddhayaśas and Chu Fo-nien during the period 399–416.
The Chinese *Ch'ang a-han-ching* is a group of long discourses in twenty-two fascicles, corresponding to the Pāli *Dīgha-Nikāya.* The *Yu-hsing-ching* comprises fascicles 2 through 4 of the group; its name, literally "Sutra of the Journey," derives from the fact that it describes the Buddha's final journey. It follows the *Ta-pen-ching,* 1 fasc. (*T.* 1:1b–10c); together these two sutras comprise most of the first of the four parts into which the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* is divided. In content the *Yu-hsing-ching* is extremely close to the Sanskrit recension; however, the sections are connected somewhat differently in the two versions.

The original manuscript from which the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* was translated was very probably Sanskrit, judging from the word forms when transliterated, but the school to which it belonged is not certain. The T'ang Chinese Buddhist scholar Fa-ch'uang concluded: "The *Ch'ang a-han[-ching]* was the text recited by the Mahāśāsaka school."[8] Research since the 1920s, however, lends support to the suggestion that it belonged to the Dharmagupta school. Even without making a firm attribution, we can

still say that "at the very least the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* belonged to the tradition of a school extremely close to the Dharmagupta."[9] Professor Kaijō Ishikawa has concluded, after careful investigation, that "the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* should be regarded as belonging to a school with close ties to the Dharmagupta, under influence of the Mahāsāṃghikas, while also having affinities with the doctrines of the Sārvastivādins." He suggests, too, that the original probably took its final form somewhere in the region between the west coast of India and northwestern India (the northern part of modern Pakistan).[10]

(h) *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching,* 3 fasc. (*T.* 1:191b–207c; no. 7), translated by Fa-hsien (340?–420?) around 420.
The translation lacks the descriptive section that appears at the beginning of the other versions. (According to Dr. Bunzaburō Matsumoto, it is difficult to regard this as a translation by Fa-hsien; Mr. Asao Iwamatsu [cited earlier] believes that Guṇabhadra was the translator. While the other recensions are all very similar in narrative flow, this one is quite different. It omits the description of the journey up to the moment when the Buddha fell ill and places the main discourses and events that occurred at that time after the illness. Such an arrangement suggests that the Buddha's death was viewed as the main subject of the entire journey. All the same, the narrative of the period after the Buddha fell ill is much closer to the Pāli recension than any of the others.)

(i) *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* 40 fasc. (*T.* 24:207a–414b; no. 1451), formally *Ken-pen shou-i-ch'ieh-yu-pu p'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* translated by I-ching (635–713) in 710. Fascicles 35 through 40 (*T.* 24:382b–411c) of this work in forty fascicles are virtually the same in composition as the recensions already cited. In expression the section is comparatively close to the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.* In *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra,* Professor Waldschmidt has translated it from Chinese into German and compared the Sanskrit with it. In contrast to the Pāli version, it displays considerable exaggeration and a tendency to deify the Buddha.

(j) *Fang-teng pan-ni-yüan-ching,* 2 fasc. (*T.* 12:912a–28c; no. 378), translated by Dharmarakṣa (239–316).
This work describes only the immediate events surrounding the Buddha's death beneath the twin *śāla* trees. Many verse sections have been inserted, and numerous bodhisattvas and buddhas make their appearance. Rather

than an alternative translation, this work should be considered a different sutra, one that concerns the Buddha's death as opposed to the last journey as a whole. It is Mahayanistic in content.[11]

Mahāyāna sutras, including the Mahāyāna version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, also contain descriptions of the last journey. I will not consider them here because they have little historicity.

According to the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao-lu* (K'ai-yüan–Era Catalog of the Buddhist Sutras), a catalog of the canon composed in 730, three additional minor versions of the sutra were reputed to have been translated, but in fact they were not.[12] The three are:

1. *Fan-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, 2 fasc., translated by Lokakṣema (147–85).
2. *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, 2 fasc., translated by the Indian translator Fa-hsien (a different individual from the translator of the three-fascicle version under the same title) of the Wei dynasty (220–65).
3. *Ta-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, 2 fasc., translated by Chih Ch'ien.

Since at least ten recensions exist, it should be possible to extract from their common elements a version that is fairly close to the original, allowing us to understand the final journey of Gotama Buddha as a historical figure. Such attempts, however, have met with relatively little success. Only Fa-hsien's version (the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* in three fascicles listed under *h* on page 17) has no equivalent to the first half of the text found in the others; it begins with the Buddha's decision to enter *parinirvāṇa* ("death"). This fact implies that Fa-hsien's version was based on the original text and that the early section of the others was a later addition. However, we cannot say definitively that Fa-hsien's text is the oldest, transmitting a true picture of the last days of the Buddha, while the early missing section in it lacks historical reliability, for this section, too, is based on a compilation of several very early traditions. The composition dates of the former and latter sections do not differ greatly; the prose sections in each were composed during the second period of early Buddhism. All the same, there is no doubt that in the different legends of "The Great Death" there exist historical facts that will help us understand Gotama Buddha as a historical person.

When attempting to clarify the personality and actions of a historical figure, we must consider the following facts:

1. Mythological coloration increases with time. Such elements, therefore, should be eliminated.

2. Passages that regard Gotama Buddha as a deified being are later additions. Nevertheless, the sutras do preserve passages that portray Gotama as a man rather than a deity—often contrary to the intentions of later compilers—and such descriptions may closely reflect the historical man.
3. Any references to historical events after the time of the Buddha are later additions.
4. The doctrinal formulas prefixed with numbers (such as eight stages of effort and attainment or the four psychic powers) are more often than not later additions.

With these considerations in mind, we can gain a more accurate idea of what actually happened on Gotama's last journey. I will present a translation of what appear to be the historical facts, based mainly on the Pāli text. I will delete, and analyze separately, the passages that do not appear in other recensions. The text I present here, therefore, will omit all words and phrases that do not appear in other recensions or that are verbose. When necessary, I will quote from the Sanskrit recension and others. The core of the remaining text, as a result, will probably reflect historical fact. Place names appearing in the text can be identified, so it is more than likely that the events that occurred there are factual.

At the same time, it is important to realize that what the people of ancient India described in a fanciful way is also significant, in another sense. We must also respect the imaginative legends created by Buddhists of later times.

The last journey is very poorly represented in the arts, probably because of its unwelcome connotations. No figure of the reclining Buddha entering *parinirvāṇa* can be found at Borobuḍur; the only indication of the Buddha's death is a stupa. Human beings are probably loath to bring death to the forefront of their thoughts and imaginations.

The Significance of the Last Journey

WHY GOTAMA BUDDHA UNDERTOOK THE LONG JOURNEY

The historical Gotama Buddha died in Kuśīnagar in the northwestern part of Uttar Pradesh; his last journey and death are described vividly in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. Gotama's personality has come through more and more clearly as we have gained access to complementary sources, such as the Chinese and Tibetan translations and the Sanskrit fragments found

in the Central Asian deserts. He died just outside the modern village of Kasia, recorded in Sanskrit texts as Kuśinagarī, in modern Hindi and Nepali as Kuśīnagar, and in Pāli as Kusinārā.

Why did the Buddha put up with his suffering all the way to Kuśīnagar? The commentator Buddhaghosa rationalizes this question, giving three reasons: "If I were to die in another place, the eight reasons for the birth here of King Mahāsudassana as described in the *Mahāsudassana-suttanta* [*D.N.* no. 17] would not eventuate; if I were to die in another place, the late-arriving Subhadda would not meet me; and if I were to die in another place, a conflict would break out over the division of my relics. If I die in Kuśīnagar, the Brahmin Doṇa will quell any conflict."[13]

Most probably, Gotama Buddha set out from Vulture Peak, northeast of Rājagaha, capital of the largest and strongest kingdom of Magadha, because he wished to journey to his birthplace, Kapilavatthu of the Sakyas. This was a vast journey for an eighty-year-old man to undertake. Ninety kilometers lie between Rājagaha and Patna, on the bank of the Ganges. Once the Ganges is crossed, there are another fifty kilometers to travel before reaching Vesālī in the Licchavi republic. Today the roads are still bad between Vesālī and Kuśīnagar; even by special bus the trip takes about twelve hours. Why did the elderly ascetic, his body like "an old cart which is made to go by being strapped together," feel compelled to travel this great distance? What was his purpose in setting out on a journey that would inevitably become a gamble with death?

When people feel death approaching, they often have the desire to see the place of their birth again. This is certainly how the Chinese translators seem to have intepreted the Buddha's journey. The translations call the area between Kuśīnagar and Kapilavatthu the "birthplace" (*pen-sheng chu*).[14] Some interpret this expression as the translation of *upavattana*, but *upavattana* actually refers to the grove of *sāla* trees in the area;[15] it does not in fact mean "birthplace" at all. Ancient Buddhists believed that Sakyamuni had been born, and had died, on the eighth day of the second month (Vaiśākha; May according to the solar calendar); even today Buddhists of the southern transmission celebrate their festivals according to this dating. To interpret the area between Lumbinī and Kuśīnagar as a single entity—the "birthplace"—is in keeping with ancient Indian ideas.

Though we should not foolishly attempt to conjecture the motives of the wise, can it not be allowed that Gotama Buddha wanted to return to the place of his birth? Such an impulse was certainly not unusual in his time. For example, both Sāriputta and Moggallāna were born and raised

near Nālandā (in Bihar State) and, though they traveled to other places in the course of their teaching activities, they finally returned to their old homes to die some time before Gotama's own death. Let us look at those cases briefly.

THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF SĀRIPUTTA

According to South Asian legend, Sāriputta's personal name was Upatissa.[16] His birthplace is variously recorded as Nālaka, Nālandā, Na-lo-t'o, and Na-lo.[17]

Originally he was a follower of the skeptic Saṃjaya and lived in Rājagaha; later he became a disciple of the Buddha, but appears to have visited his birthplace often. In the Magadhan village of Nālaka, he replied to Sāmaṇḍaka, a follower of another teacher, that suffering is caused by rebirth (*abhinibbati*) and that when there is no rebirth, joy (*sukha*) may be expected.[18]

According to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, when Sakyamuni went with his attendant Ānanda to Nālandā, Sāriputta came to see him and emitted his "lion's roar," declaring that there never has been, nor will be, nor is now, anyone surpassing Sakyamuni in the wisdom of enlightenment.[19] This passage, however, does not appear in the Chinese translations, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, or in the Sanskrit or Tibetan recensions. The episode was in fact inserted into the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* from another Pāli source.[20] It does not reflect a historical event.

We do not know exactly when Sāriputta died. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera concludes that he died some months before the Buddha, but I believe that the deaths of the two men were separated by a longer time. Dr. Malalasekera's conclusion is based only on the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta;* as I just mentioned, the reference to Sāriputta in that text is a later interpolation. It seems preferable to conclude that Sāriputta died some time before the Buddha set out on his final journey from Vulture Peak. This dating would explain why the Buddha praised Sāriputta in various parts of Magadha. Walking from place to place would have taken a considerable amount of time; even after the rainy-season retreat, which was spent that year near Vesālī, a good two more years would have been needed to complete the journey. For this reason it is very likely that Sāriputta died several years before the Buddha.

One textual source tells us that Sāriputta, hearing that Moggallāna had been attacked and wounded by adherents of another religious leader,

went to take care of him and actually died before him.[21] Another states that just as Sāriputta and Moggallāna became followers of the Buddha at the same time, they also died at the same time: Sāriputta took leave of the Buddha and returned to his birthplace, the village of Na-lo-t'o, accompanied by his attendant Cunda, and died there.[22] When, following the deaths of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, Sakyamuni was in the Vajji town of Ukkacelā, he praised both men and lamented that their deaths had created an emptiness in the Saṅgha.[23] The legend developed further in later centuries. Sāriputta and Moggallāna were said to have died before the Buddha because they had foreseen his approaching death and could not bear to live without him.[24]

According to a scripture that relates the merits of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, Sāriputta died at Nālagāmaka (his birthplace); following his death, the Buddha praised his merits.[25] The sutra relates how Sāriputta, when staying at Nālagāmaka, was sick and being cared for by his younger brother, Cunda-Samaṇuddesa, when he died. After cremating Sāriputta's body, Cunda returned to Sāvatthī carrying the relics in a water strainer, together with Sāriputta's robe and bowl. He first told Ānanda what had transpired, and it is said that Ānanda lost consciousness from the shock.[26] Then the two men went together to tell the Buddha, who, upon hearing the news, spoke about the impermanence of all things.

The commentaries give more detail. After spending his final rainy-season retreat at Beḷuvagāma, Sakyamuni returned to Sāvatthī. There Sāriputta met him, but knowing that the Buddha would die within seven days, he decided to visit his mother. Though seven of her children had become *arhats,* she had not taken refuge in the Buddha's teachings. Therefore he prepared to journey to Nālagāmaka, accompanied by his brother Cunda and five hundred *bhikkhus.* After displaying his supernormal, miraculous powers and declaring his faith in the Buddha, he asked Gotama's permission to take his leave. A great crowd accompanied him to the gate of Sāvatthī, but he asked the people to remain there and go no farther with him. Seven days later Sāriputta arrived in Nālagāmaka and met his nephew Uparevata outside the gate. He had him go to his mother and announce his arrival. His mother was overjoyed, thinking he had renounced Buddhism, and made preparations to welcome him. He took up residence in the room where he had been born (*jātavaraka*). He then fell ill with dysentery. He had Cunda bring the five hundred *bhikkhus* to him. When he asked them what errors he had committed regarding them in his forty-four years as a *bhikkhu,* they replied, "None." Then he wiped

his lips with his robe and lay down. Having passed through numerous stages of concentration, he died as dawn was breaking.[27] Sāriputta was later deified as the disciple most versed in the Abhidhamma.[28]

According to the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi,* three or four *li* east of Moggallāna's birthplace, Kolika, there was a stupa marking the place where King Bimbisāra went out to meet Sakyamuni. About twenty *li* southeast of the stupa was the village of Kālapināka, where Sāriputta was born and where he died: "About twenty *li* southeast of [the stupa] where King Bimbisāra went out to meet Śākyamuni, we came to the village of Kālapināka.[29] In the village is a stupa, built by King Aśoka. This is the place where the Venerable Śāriputra was born. A well still exists today. Beside it is a stupa. Here the Venerable One entered *parinirvāṇa.* Enshrined within the stupa are [his] relics."[30]

THE BIRTH AND DEATH OF MOGGALLĀNA

The personal name of Mahāmoggallāna (Great Moggallāna) was Kolita. He was the son of a Brahmin woman called Moggaliya, of the village of Kolita, not far from Rājagaha. He was a friend of Upatissa (later Sāriputta).[31] Both men were followers of the skeptic Saṃjaya and later became disciples of the Buddha. The *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching* is in virtual agreement, saying that he was the son of a Brahmin of the village of Chü-li-chia (Kolika?) and was called Chü-li-tuo (= Kolita).[32]

Moggallāna died before Sakyamuni. Since a few verses attributed to Moggallāna are laments for Sāriputta's death,[33] Sāriputta probably died before him. Tradition says that Sāriputta died on the evening of the full moon in the month of Kattika (= Kārttika) and that Mahāmoggallāna died two weeks later on the day of the new moon.[34] A commentary relates that he was killed by followers of Nigaṇṭha.[35]

By means of his supernormal powers, Moggallāna used to visit various worlds. On returning to this world he would report how followers of the Buddha were reborn in bliss, while those of other teachers were reborn in miserable realms. Those reports caused a substantial decrease in the numbers of followers of other sects and schools. Some adherents of a rival sect paid robbers to murder Moggallāna. They surrounded his retreat at Kāḷasilā; perceiving the plot, he fled through a keyhole. Similar events continued for six days. On the seventh day, the robbers caught him, beating him and crushing his bones. Thinking him dead, they left the place. Moggallāna, however, regained consciousness, and through great willpower

went to the Buddha, bade him farewell, and died. The *devas* mourned his passing.

The commentaries say that Moggallāna's unhappy end was retribution for evil committed in a former existence: Incited by his wife, he took his blind parents into a forest and there beat them to death, making it look like the action of robbers. For his crime, he suffered in the hells for countless years, and his final existence was fated to end through violence.

Moggallāna's corpse was said to be the color of a blue lotus, or alternatively, the color of a rain cloud.[36] An oral tradition from Sri Lanka says that the corpse's color reflected Moggallāna's former existences suffering in the hells.

The *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* says: "Eight or nine *li* southwest [of the Nālandā *vihāra*] we came to the village of Kolika.[37] In the village is a stupa built by King Aśoka. This is the birthplace of the Venerable Maudgalyāyana. To the side is a stupa. This is where the Venerable One entered *parinirvāṇa* without residue. Within it are deposited the relics of his body. The Venerable One was from a great Brahmin family and was a close friend of Śāriputra when they both were young."[38] Here the term *birthplace* translates the Chinese expression *pen-sheng ku-li*.[39]

THE BIRTHPLACES OF SĀRIPUTTA AND MOGGALLĀNA

The custodian of the Nālandā ruins informed me that Sāriputta was born at Sarilchak and Moggallāna at Kulitgrām. Among the Nālandā ruins is a tall fortresslike building, said to have been constructed as a monument to Sāriputta. Viewed from the top of the monument, Sarilchak and Kulitgrām lie roughly to the southwest and southeast, respectively.

RETURNING HOME

In view of the traditions associated with Sāriputta and Moggallāna, it would hardly be surprising that the historical Gotama wanted to return to his native place to die. Even today, great figures are motivated by similar emotions. The eminent rationalist and philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951), becoming aware of the gravity of his illness while lecturing in the United States, declared he did not want to die "in the wilderness" (America) and returned home to England. While not a word in Buddhist writings suggests that Sakyamuni's journey was spurred by memories of his birthplace, I feel that such a motivation is discernible in his movements. If, for example, missionary activity was the purpose of his journey, large cities like Magadha and Sāvatthī would have been far better targets, since they had great power of influence. There was certainly no need to go to a place like Kuśīnagar.

Gotama Buddha most certainly realized that his death was approaching. To say, however, that he had decided to die at that time is a later fabrication. He did not commit suicide. It is not logical to assume that a great spiritual being can just abandon his life. Such an interpretation does no favor to the Buddha. If he could control the length of his life by his own decision, why did he feel the necessity to undertake such a journey? And why did he die before reaching his destination? These questions can be answered by thinking of Gotama in human terms.

The Chinese translations of the sutras called the Buddha's birthplace *pen-sheng chu* ("the place where he was originally born"). Returning to the place whence he originally departed brings his life full circle: "I have completed what I set out to do." The Indians, too, thought that Sakyamuni returned to his birthplace to die. For example, the *Yu-hsing-ching* says: "At that time the Buddha's mother Māyā said in verse: 'The Buddha was born at Lumbinī. He spread his teachings widely. Returning, he came to the place where he was originally born, and abandoned his impermanent body eternally.'"[40] These words reveal that people thought that the Buddha returned to his birthplace to die.

Lumbinī, Kapilavatthu, and Kuśīnagar can be thought of as a single district. In this sense, Sakyamuni's life did come full circle. The analogy would be even closer if Piprāhwā (the place where his relics were found) were confirmed as the site of Kapilavatthu. All the same, the sutras themselves state expressly that Lumbinī and Kuśīnagar are separate places:

> "Ānanda, there are four places that should deeply move the believing clansman when he actually sees them. What are those four? 'Here was born the Tathāgata [the one who has perfected his practice]': this place will deeply move the believing man of good family, when he actually sees it. 'Here the Tathāgata attained supreme and perfect enlightenment': this place will deeply move the believing man of good family, when he actually sees it. 'Here the Tathāgata began his teaching': this place will deeply move the believing man of good family, when he actually sees it. 'Here the Tathāgata entered the realm of *nibbāna* where no defilements remain': this place will deeply move the believing man of good family, when he actually sees it. Ānanda, these are the four places

that will deeply move the believing clansman of good family, when he actually sees them."[41]

Even if the places were considered to be different, from a broad perspective Sakyamuni's life did come full circle.

Other texts, too, call Kuśīnagar "the original birthplace." The *Yu-hsing-ching* reports that at Vaiśālī, Māra urged the Buddha to enter nirvana: "[Māra said:] 'Now is the right time. Why do you not pass over [into nirvana]?' The Buddha said, 'Desist, desist, Māra. The Buddha knows the very time and he will not remain long. Three months from now I will enter into nirvana between the *śāla* trees at Kuśīnagar, the original birthplace.' Then Māra thought, 'The Buddha does not utter falsehood. He will surely enter nirvana soon.' Dancing with joy, he disappeared suddenly from that place."[42] Here "the original birthplace" clearly refers to Kuśīnagar. Therefore, the compiler of the *Yu-hsing-ching* must have thought that Lumbinī, Kapilavastu, and Kuśīnagar were all the same place. The sutra goes on to describe Gotama's arrival in Kuśīnagar: "At that time the Bhagavat entered Kuśīnagar, the original birthplace, and facing the space between the trees of the Mallas, said to Ānanda, 'Prepare a bed for the Tathāgata between the two trees with my head to the north and my face to the west.'"[43] Sakyamuni died in the small settlement of Kuśīnagar, unable to reach Kapilavastu. Indian Buddhists, however, believe that he died after returning to his native place, his life having come full circle.

Do Indians in general cherish a wish to return to their native place to die? Hindus certainly hope to die at a temple in a holy city, like Vārāṇasī or Hardwar (Haridwar). All the same, we have seen how at least three men—Sāriputta, Moggallāna, and the Buddha—returned home to die. If we wish to make a distinction between the holy and the mundane from the standpoint of religious study, theirs was the worldly way. There was nothing wrong in that, for after all, all three had denied the authority of traditional religion.

Do Indians have a word to express "native place"? For Germans, the word *Heimat* has a very special, warm connotation, which the English *native place* perhaps lacks. Americans, a very mobile people, use *hometown*, but this too lacks the emotional depth of the German word. It is certainly difficult to find a comparable Indian word. Indians place far greater weight on the links of caste, the deity worshiped, the temple attended, and the language spoken. Very little emphasis is given to native place; the word

closest to it in meaning is *janmabhūmi*, simply "birthplace."[44] One Indian intellectual has ascribed this lack of feeling for the native place to an absence of mobility in Indian society. Most Indians are born, grow up, work, and die in the same village. Therefore most have no sense of native place, with the result that there is no particular word for it, either in the Aryan languages of the north or in the Dravidian languages of the south.

Chinese translations of Mahāyāna sutras employ the expression *pen-kuo* ("native country") for birthplace, but this term was created by the Chinese translators and does not often appear in the original. For example, the Lotus Sutra says that the prodigal son "gradually passes along, heading for his native country [*pen-kuo*]."[45] The Sanskrit text says, "the city where his father dwells,"[46] but it does not use the word meaning "native place."

Another explanation might be that Indians tend to value universality over particularity. Perhaps the idea of native place can arise only in a society where stability and mobility coexist. In Japan, for example, migrants from the countryside to the city make a point of returning to their native places for summer Bon observances and memorial services for deceased family members; they may even go back permanently when they retire. For such people, mobility exists only because stability also exists. Even for those who have no sense of a native place to which they might return, the concept remains alive emotionally and in poetry. The nineteenth-century poet and novelist Saisei Murō wrote: "One's native place is to be thought of when one is far away." And Takuboku Ishikawa (1886–1912) wrote: "How beautiful they are, the hills of home!" Here we have the feelings of a poet who has lost his native place.

Stability and mobility coexist, or are even combined, in the German use of *Heimat*. However, when only mobility occurs, people lose all consciousness of native place. This is the case for a large number of Americans, and for many Japanese who have been born and brought up in large cities. The Japanese use of the English expression *my town* for the native expression reflects growing social change and the Westernization of the Japanese.

The only ancient Indians who were really mobile were the religious wanderers (*parivrājaka* or *saṃnyāsin*). (Of course, merchants moved from place to place, but they always returned to their base of operations; otherwise they would have been unable to accumulate capital.) Gotama Buddha and his followers were religious wanderers of this type and did not live

anywhere permanently. Thus in their subjective consciousness they had no native place and did not speak of one; but deep inside they retained the idea.

The concept of native place, however, does have some practical meaning in Hinduism. For example, when a Hindu is dying, the officiating priest asks him to recall his native place and then to imagine the realms of the deities. Nevertheless, Hindu doctrine places little emphasis on native place.

The origins of any custom of returning to one's native place to die must remain obscure; while we cannot know what influenced the Buddha, Sāriputta, and Moggallāna in their actions, it remains a fact that the idea of a native place was important to them. At the end of his life the Buddha must have realized that it is difficult to forget one's original home—such an insight implies, however, that he must have been attached to his birthplace, must have longed for it. This idea invites the criticism that Gotama must not, therefore, have been completely enlightened, because a true religious practitioner should transcend all local particularity and ideally become "a person of the four quarters" (*cātuddisa*), like Bodhisena, the eighth-century Indian Buddhist priest who abandoned India to end up eventually in Japan.

I would answer such criticism by saying that Gotama Buddha was a person who possessed human feelings, and was thus moved by memories of his native place. From a Buddhist point of view, the suggestion that Gotama, supposedly a perfectly enlightened being, could have affection for his native place poses a considerable problem if the ideal of an enlightened person means one not stirred by emotion. If the Buddha can be allowed feelings, we can see that it was perfectly natural that he would think of his parents, his relatives, and his close friends. Likewise, he would recall his forebears.

Sakyamuni did not lose the fragile thought that he wanted to die in his native place. The light emanating from his "Great Death" grew more and more radiant, illuminating the fate of humankind down the ages.

At Vulture Peak

RĀJAGAHA AND VULTURE PEAK

The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* begins at Vulture Peak: "(1) Thus have I heard. At one time the Venerable Master was staying at Vulture Peak,

near Rājagaha."[47] Vulture Peak is a mountain northeast of Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. Magadha, the strongest and most advanced state of its time, covered much of the area south of the Ganges in what today is Bihār State. It was agriculturally rich, and, as a result of technology and learning introduced from northwestern India, it possessed the most sophisticated weapons of war, including chariots. Rājagaha (Pāli; Skt., Rājagṛha) means "king's house"; today the name has been corrupted to Rājgīr.[48] It lies 104 kilometers southeast of Patna at the terminus of the Bihar-Bakhtiarpur Light Railway. In contrast to the plains along the Ganges, Rājagaha is surrounded by a mountain range; along its ridges a protective wall was built, making it easy to defend the city. Today the old capital is ruined, unpopulated, and covered with bushy undergrowth in which tigers are rumored to roam. The ruined walls of the city are still visible.

The defensive advantages of the surrounding mountains determined that Rājagaha would be the king's stronghold. A small river flows along a valley on the northern side of the city; here was the main gate, through which Sakyamuni often passed, the local people say. When this gate was closed, Rājagaha would have been impregnable. The city was ideally situated for a king involved in continual rounds of conquest. However, it was not so suitable once Magadha had become the dominant kingdom and its ruler no longer felt threatened. At that point it seems that King Ajātasattu's son Udāyin moved the capital to Pāṭaliputra (present-day Patna), which dominated both land and water routes.

Mahāvīra, a contemporary of Sakyamuni and the founder of Jainism, is also said to have taught at Rājagaha. The city, therefore, was an important place for two great religions, Jainism and Buddhism.

Today there is very little to see at Rājagaha. In the middle of the overgrown site, about four kilometers from the north gate, is the Hindu shrine of Maniyar Maṭha, possibly dedicated to the tutelary deity of Rājagaha, the *nāga* king Mani. A pond stands outside the gate; nearby is the supposed location of the Bamboo Grove (Veḷuvana) monastery. (Scholars disagree about the exact spot). A modern white Japanese temple, Nihonzan Myōhōji, can be seen in the distance. Near the north gate, at the foot of Vebhāra (Pāli; Skt., Vaibhāra), one of the five hills that surround Rājagaha, great numbers of people still use the hot springs, which are rare in India. A Buddhist monastery used to be here as well. A rocky path leads up the fairly high hill to the Cave of Seven Leaves (Pāli, Sattapaṇṇiguhā; Skt., Saptaparṇaguhā), the reputed site of the First Buddhist Council, reputedly held just after the Buddha's death. It was attended by five hundred

arhats; proof of the legendary nature of the episode is that five hundred people could not have fit into any of the small caves in the area. Near the summit of the hill (335 meters above sea level) are several modern Jain temples. Just beyond them is an excellent view of the broad plains of Magadha. From this location a visitor can appreciate the vastness of the Indian subcontinent.

Vulture Peak (Pāli, Gijjhakūṭa; Skt., Gṛdhrakūṭa)[49] is one of the five hills that surround Rājagaha. Paṇḍava (Pāli; Skt., Pāṇḍava), another of the hills, is famous because Sakyamuni once stayed there. Precipitous Vulture Peak is well known as a place where the Buddha gave important discourses. The name of the hill derives, according to Buddhaghosa, either from the presence of vultures there or from a rock formation on the summit.[50] Certainly even today we can discern in the pile of giant rocks a formation reminiscent of vultures' wings. Though the name of the hill has customarily been rendered in English as "Vulture's (or Vulture) Peak," an American intellectual once remarked to me that "Eagle's Peak" would be a more accurate translation, since vultures live at lower levels because they cannot fly to great heights. They feed largely on carrion found in the more populated areas at the foot of mountains, rather than preying on high-flying birds. It is the eagle that soars high into the sky to catch its prey. I am not qualified to comment on this suggestion; I do know, though, that today eagles are common in the region between Rājagaha and Patna; I saw great numbers of them flying over roadside fields.

VULTURE PEAK TODAY

Between Gayā and Rājgīr, the landscape is unique in India: tall hills covered with shrubs and often craggy outcrops, distant rows of coconut palms, herds of cattle grazing in the fields, and brick dwellings scattered here and there. Hindu shrines are visible. En route to Tuṅgi Bazaar one January, I crossed the Phalgu River, which turned out to be quite dry—the stream was in fact flowing underneath the sandy riverbed. Rājgīr is now a medium-sized city for India.

I have climbed Vulture Peak a number of times, but my first experience, in 1956, remains most vivid in my memory.[51] "Does anyone want to join me on an excursion up to Rājgīr? It's a holy place of the Buddha," came the voice of a judge of the high court of what was then Burma. "We're leaving at six-thirty in the morning." He walked through the train making this announcement. In December 1956 the Indian government had invited people from several countries to take part in the celebrations marking the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha's birth; this particular excursion had been made available to participants following the formal events. Thirty or forty foreign guests joined the tour of places associated with the Buddha, guided by Indian government officials. Because there were no suitable hotels in the interior, we were using a special train, with sleeping compartments, as both transport and accommodation. Perhaps because of the cramped conditions, people got to know each other rather well. With my Western-style education I was able to communicate with the Westerners fairly readily, but I found it much harder to talk to the few Asian guests who accompanied us. Gradually we learned to understand each other's facial expressions, and I found myself warming to people whose appearance I had initially found a little strange, like the affable Mongolian lama wearing red robes and the Hindu priest from Bali who shaved his head completely except for a single braid, but still wore a Western-style suit. It was in such an atmosphere that the Burmese jurist extended his invitation. I immediately decided to go, because Rājgīr, of course, was the Rājagaha of Buddhist tradition, on whose outskirts lay Vulture Peak, where Sakyamuni gave many discourses, including that of the Lotus Sutra. Indeed, in Japan there are even mountains named after the peak. I knew I had to climb it.

What I found interesting was that the people who decided to take part in the excursion were all from Asian countries—Japan, China, Burma, and India. No Westerners, despite the fact that they were Buddhist scholars, came with us. To me this seemed to demonstrate the difference between people in whom a tradition was deeply imbued and those in whom it was not.

We left Gayā for Vulture Peak by bus at seven in the morning. The early departure enabled us to climb the peak before the midday heat, which would be oppressive even in the middle of winter. We passed through groves of *jambu* trees and then saw a small hill rising before us on the right. Children were leading cattle and water buffalo, which trudged along the side of the road. The sight of a lone palm tree atop a bare hill made a strange impression. I also saw an elephant carrying four people. The cattle were still plodding along beside us when the bus stopped; it is no myth that cattle suddenly pause in front of buses, bringing them to a halt. After we had been traveling through the plains for nearly an hour, a row of mountains became more and more distinct before us. We crossed a river and Vulture Peak came into our line of vision. We could see the

outline of ancient defenses along its ridges and a white temple on its summit. We moved forward, crossing rocky mountain streams, which were the cattle's destination.

Eventually we arrived at the base of Vulture Peak. It was covered with low shrubs and reminded me of the North American wilderness. A road extended halfway up the mountain, at which point it formed a loop. Just before the road began its ascent of the mountain, a track to the left led to an area about sixty meters square enclosed by stone walls. This was thought to have been King Ajātasattu's prison, where his father King Bimbisāra may have been confined.

The route up to the summit of Vulture Peak is called the Bimbisāra Path and is said to be the pathway originally made by the king when he went to meet Sakyamuni. A sign explaining the name gives Bimbisāra's dates as ca. 563–483 B.C.E. A local guide told us that the king used to step down from his chariot where the loop road is today and from there walk up the hill. The Buddhist sutras also record this custom. The square base of a stupa remains at the spot, reputedly built to mark the place where the king descended. Buddhist objects from the medieval period have been unearthed here.

The footpath is lined on both sides by a wide variety of shrubs, attesting to the amazing capability of plants to exist depite the scarcity of water. Soon we came across another ruin; a posted notice told us that it was the Gṛdhrakūṭa-vihāra, which the Chinese itinerant priest Hsüan-tsang (ca. 596–664) had also seen. Since there are no signs of any other ruins in the vicinity, no doubt this is correct. The notice went on to say that once a deer park existed here, and perhaps it was to this site that the Buddha was brought, wounded by a rock thrown by Devadatta. The accuracy of that reported episode is in considerable doubt, however. Devadatta may have been a heretic, but he was not evil, and there is no proof that a wounded Sakyamuni was brought to this place. Because the area relies on its reputation so that it can serve as a pilgrimage site and a tourist attraction, it is unavoidable that traditions are created and maintained for commercial purposes.

The path had recently been repaired, so the ascent was relatively easy. Soon we could see above us the soaring rock formation on the summit. Aware that the mountain's name may have derived from the shape of the rocks, I thought I could make out a bird's head. The mountain seemed to exude a strange, almost mysterious atmosphere derived from some kind

of invisible power. It was here, after all, that the Buddha and his followers trained themselves in the earliest days of Buddhism.

The summit is nothing but rock. A number of caves are located nearby. Local guides told us exactly who sat in which one in meditation, but their statements are dubious. Nevertheless, they are continuing a long-standing tradition, for the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien mentions hearing similar suppositions during his own visit to Vulture Peak early in the fifth century:

> Entering a valley and circling the mountain, climbing fifteen *li* toward the southeast, we came to Vulture Peak. A stone cave facing south was situated about three *li* before the summit. Here [it is said] the Buddha used to sit in meditation. Thirty paces to the northwest is another cave, where [the Buddha's disciple] Ānanda was sitting in meditation when the Piśuna Māra was transformed into an eagle and flew down to the front of the cave and frightened him. The Buddha, using his supernatural powers, passed his hand through the rock and patted Ānanda's shoulder, so that his fear immediately vanished. The footprints of the bird and the hole made by the hand are still there and so it is called the "Eagle Cave."
>
> In front of the caves on the mountain are the places where the four buddhas sat. Rock caves in which all the *arhats* sat in meditation, several hundred of them, are also there. Also there is the place from which, as the Buddha was walking up and down from east to west in front of his rock retreat, Devadatta threw a rock down from the precipitous cliff on the northern side of the mountain.[52] The rock is still there.
>
> The hall where the Buddha gave his discourses has collapsed and only a few of the foundations of the brick walls remain. The mountain forms an impressive peak, the highest of all the five mountains. In the new city [built at the entrance to the old city], Fa-hsien bought fragrant flowers and oil, and employed two old *bhikṣus* to take them [to the top of Vulture Peak]. Arriving there, he made offerings of flowers and incense and lit votive lamps, and was suddenly overtaken by feelings of sadness. He restrained his tears, telling himself, "Here the Buddha lived long ago and taught the *Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra*. I am not able to meet the Buddha in this life, but can only see the various places associated with him." Then, facing the cave, he recited the *Śūraṅgama-samādhi-sūtra*. He spent the night there and then returned to new Rājagṛha.[53]

Hsüan-tsang also relates the same legend.[54] It is very unlikely, however,

that the legends repeated by the local people today reflect a continuous tradition; it is far more probable that the tales have been reconstructed from the work of modern scholars. More likely to be fact is the existence of ascetics who isolated themselves in these caves to practice meditation.

Near the summit are two caves, which Hsüan-tsang appears to have seen. In one of them, baked-clay votive tablets have been found. On the summit itself are the ruins of a monastery, square in plan and surrounded by brick walls. This is the spot at which the Buddha is said to have spoken his discourses. However, no evidence exists for the date of the ruins. A large cave lies beneath the Dharma seat on the summit, within the brick walls; the Indian guide told us that this was where Ānanda lived. I think that Ānanda and the Buddha probably stayed there for a time, since the direct heat of the midday sun would necessitate taking some form of shelter and there were no trees on the peak. A cave would be ideal for this purpose, but this should not encourage us to think that these people were no more than primitive cave dwellers. Ascetics used caves because they were comfortable (after all, we modern people ourselves seek shelter from the heat in air-conditioned buildings, our own artificial "caves").

Near Vulture Peak is another hill, called Ratnagiri, on which the Japanese temple Nihonzan Myōhōji sits, its white pagoda visible from far away. An elevator now takes people up to it.

AJĀTASATTU'S COMMAND

"At that time, Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha, wished to attack the Vajjis, and said, 'Though these Vajjis are thriving and powerful I will conquer them. I will eradicate and annihilate the Vajjis. I will bring about their destruction.'"[55] Ajātasattu (Pāli; Skt., Ajātaśatru) was the king of Magadha and the son of Bimbisāra. His name appears to mean something like "he who does not have enemies," "great warrior whose enemies cannot match him," or "he who has no enemies who can overcome him."[56] It was used in the *Ṛg Veda* (702.15) as an epithet of Indra.[57] Bimbisāra would have been the king's title, not his personal name. The Jains know him as Kūṇika or Koṇika; this is probably not the name conferred upon him at his naming ceremony but a later nickname. He was a cruel king before he converted to Buddhism.

What motivated him to conquer the Vajjis? The Vajjis were a confederation of city-states, governed as a republic, with matters decided in a council of citizens. Their prosperity was based on trade and crafts; the

people liked to wear colorful clothing. The capital was a merchant city, Vesālī (Pāli; Skt., Vaiśālī), ruled by the Licchavis. According to the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, Ajātasattu said, "The Vajjis' country is rich, with many people. The land is fertile and the fields are rich. They want to extract those rare riches for themselves and do not bow their heads to me."[58] Perhaps the Vajji lands possessed many mines containing gemstones. Then again, the description may just reflect the imagination of the Chinese translator. Certainly, though, if Ajātasattu could gain control of the Vajji confederation, he would dominate a broad sweep of land on the northern side of the Ganges and gain vast riches. However, the king was aware of the problems inherent in sending out his army to invade the Vajjis and hesitated, unable to make up his mind. He sent one of his ministers to seek the advice of Gotama.

> (2) Then Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, king of Magadha,[59] said to his chief minister, the Brahmin Vassakāra, "Now, Brahmin, go to the place where the Venerable Master is staying, bow before him with your head on his feet, and ask, from me, whether he is in good health, suffering no hindrances, living at ease in good spirits.[60] Then say to him this: 'Venerable One, Ajātasattu, king of Magadha, wishes to attack the Vajjis, and he says: "Though these Vajjis are united and strong I will conquer them. I will eradicate and annihilate the Vajjis. I will bring about their destruction."' Whatever the Venerable Master decides, remember it well and report it to me, for a perfected person [a Tathāgata] never lies."[61]

Here Ajātasattu is called Vedehiputta (Pāli; Skt., Vaidehīputra), which means "son of the daughter of the king of Vedeha" or "son of the princess from the country of Vedeha." It was a custom in ancient India to give the mother's name (or that of her country or family) when speaking of a male; there is ample evidence for this practice in ancient inscriptions. The custom derived from the matriarchal system dominant among the native peoples and does not appear in the Vedic literature of the Āryans. Tibetan tradition says that Ajātasattu's mother's personal name was Vāsavī,[62] but the details are uncertain. It was Indian custom not to reveal the personal names of prominent people; this practice applied all the more to kings. (King Aśoka rarely mentions himself by that name in his inscriptions; rather he uses the dialect form *devānāṃ priyaḥ*. Similarly, Sakyamuni's disciple Sāriputta is called either by that name or by Dhammasenāpati, not by his personal name, Upatissa.)[63]

Vedehi (Pāli; Skt., Vaidehī) can be translated as "daughter of the king

of Vedeha," though in the original *suttanta* no mention is made of "king." It was common in ancient India for the wives of kings to be royal daughters. The fact that the Chinese translations omitted *Vedehiputta* rather than attempting to translate the name is in itself interesting. The Han Chinese, who had a long tradition of patrilineal descent, doubtless found it very difficult to acknowledge the existence of matrilineal systems in India and southern Asia and, disliking the ambiguity implicit in the title, simply removed the title.

According to some sources, Ajātasattu's mother was not the daughter of the king of Vedeha, but of the king of Kosala.[64] Jain traditions say she came from Vaiśālī (Pāli, Vesālī), thus agreeing with the Buddhist sources, since Vaiśālī is in Vedeha.[65]

Of note is the king's employment of a Brahmin as his chief minister. Even before the time of Buddhism, Brahmins had positions in the courts of kings as ritualists (*purohita*), but according to the Vedas they served no political role. By the Buddha's time, however, the occupational distinctions between the castes were being ignored, so a Brahmin could act as a minister. Yet it is clear from the passage that the king respected Sakyamuni as a great leader and depended on him over his Brahmin advisers.

To continue with the story: Vassakāra obeyed the king's command and set off to meet the Buddha. According to the Pāli text, he rode as far as he could by carriage, then got out to walk up the rest of the way: "(3) 'I understand,' replied Vassakāra to the king. He had a number of finely decorated chariots prepared and rode in one of them and drove out at their head from Rājagaha, heading for Vulture Peak. He rode as far as the ground would allow a chariot to pass, then dismounted and approached on foot the place where the Venerable Master was. Drawing near, he greeted the Venerable Master, exchanged courtesies with him, and sat down to one side."[66] Today there is a good road that goes halfway up the hill, but everyone must still walk from there, just as in the past.

Vassakāra then delivered the king's message. The *suttanta* continues: "(4) At that time the young[67] Ānanda[68] was standing behind the Venerable Master, fanning him."[69] Such a scene is still common in India today. Eminent Hindu priests are fanned by their attendants—by lay followers (sometimes women) and ordained disciples—to keep them cool and to chase insects away. To modern eyes, such an act perhaps does not seem fitting for a disciple of Ānanda's stature, but it should be understood as an ancient religious custom that grew out of the conditions of the country.

According to the Pāli text, Vassakāra addressed the Buddha as "bho Gotama," a fairly informal, even somewhat contemptuous, form of speech, which reflects his consciousness that his own Brahmin caste was of higher status than the Buddha's *khattiya* caste. *Gotama* means "most excellent, the greatest cow." This form of address does not appear in the Sanskrit text, being inappropriate for the Buddha's authority, which surpassed even that of the *devas*.

INTERVIEW WITH SAKYAMUNI—THE SEVEN PRINCIPLES OF STABLE GOVERNMENT

Gotama did not immediately reply to Ajātasattu's minister's question,[70] but turned to Ānanda and asked him whether the seven conditions he went on to outline were true or not:

> [1] The Vajjis hold frequent, well-attended assemblies.[71]
>
> [2] The Vajjis meet in concert with one another, act in concert with one another, and do what they have to as Vajjis in concert.
>
> [3] The Vajjis do not establish rules without precedents and do not abolish what has been established, but proceed according to the traditional laws of the Vajjis established in the past.
>
> [4] The Vajjis respect, honor, revere, and salute their elders of experience and long standing, and consider their recommendations worth listening to.
>
> [5] The Vajjis do not forcibly abduct women and girls of good family [*kula*], or force them to live with them.[72]
>
> [6] The Vajjis respect, honor, revere, and support shrines [*cetiya*] of the Vajjis both within and without [the city] and do not abandon their offerings [*bali*] which are in accordance with the law, offered in the past.
>
> [7] The Vajjis offer and extend proper protection, defense, and support for *arahants*,[73] so that *arahants* who have not come yet may come to live there and those already living there may live there in peace.[74]

The Vajjis and the Mallas were republics ruled by nobles. In contrast to other places in India, they were liberal in atmosphere, unshackled by the traditions of Brahmanism. This is very evident in the description of the Vajjis in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*.

> (5) Then the Blessed One said to the Chief Minister Vassakāra: "Once, Brahmin, when I was staying at the Sārandada Shrine[75] in Vesālī, I

taught the Vajjis these principles for preventing their decline. As long as they observe these seven, as long as these seven remain in force, the Vajjis can be expected to prosper and not decline." To this Vassakāra replied: "Gotama, if the Vajjis observe even one of these seven, they can be expected to prosper and not decline. How much more so if they observe all seven. Gotama, the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu Vedehiputta, will never conquer the Vajjis by force, only by diplomatic means and by breaking up their alliance.[76] Gotama, I will now depart, for I am busy and have much to do."

[Gotama replied:] "Brahmin, feel free [to depart]."[77] Then Vassakāra rose from his seat and left.[78]

All the recensions describe this incident in a fairly similar manner.

Gotama did not say directly to Vassakāra that it was wrong to wage war. By discussing with Ānanda general social principles in Vassakāra's presence, he encouraged the minister to make his own decision. In all Buddhist lands there were instances of ministers and politicians' making decisions after consulting high-ranking Buddhist priests, perhaps in similar fashion. Priestly authority was able to exert pressure on kings and their officials. The tale of Ajātasattu, Vassakāra, and the seven principles was famous among Buddhists in the early period and is mentioned in several other places in Buddhist writings.[79]

The teaching of the seven principles did not emerge from problems raised only right before the Buddha's death but, as the sutra says, took the form of the Buddha's recollection of a former action and so should be considered a reaffirmation. The first principle, on the holding of assemblies, alludes to the republican nature of the Vajji confederation and its custom of making decisions through frequent councils. This situation was very different from that of a kingdom, where matters were decided arbitrarily by the ruler. While clearly a form of democracy, the Vajji system appears to have restricted authority to people above a certain social class. The fifth principle, against the forcible abduction of women, implies that such a custom existed at the time. The *Laws of Manu* in fact classifies forcible abduction as the lowest form of marriage.

As this episode shows, the Buddha did not attempt to bludgeon his hearers. In any case, there was no point in abruptly attempting to denounce a king whose name had become a byword for the desire for power. Therefore the Buddha cushioned his advice by patiently speaking of general principles and facts, in order to bring his hearer to realize for himself

the wrongness of the king's proposed action. Such methods of instruction persist today in Asian countries.

The seven principles, though applied here specifically to the republican system of the Vajjis, are relevant to the development of any community. They are to be found nowhere in any of the general collections of laws, probably because they are at odds with the caste-based ethics of Brahmanism. However, they were adapted, partially and with some alteration, as the working rules for life in the Buddhist community; in fact the first, second, and third must be observed exactly as written here (see the next section). The principles inform us that a republican government existed among the Vajjis in the Buddha's time; early Buddhists praised this impartial system as the ideal form of government and used it as a model for organizing their community. A republican form of government by aristocrats was also followed by the Mallas. Early Buddhist literature describes the liberal atmosphere that pertained among the Vajjis, unfettered by Brahmanic tradition.

The seven principles display some distinctive features:

1. Emphasis on a spirit of harmony. All members of the community were to cooperate, hold assemblies, and make decisions through consensus.

2. Ideal conservatism. The laws that people are to follow are eternal; they have been realized in practice from ancient times and people should strive not to deviate from them. In actuality, new laws had probably been instituted; Buddhism itself was a new movement. Gotama's own understanding, however, was that he was not founding something new, but preserving that which was eternal. The injunction to respect elders derives from the same way of thinking.

3. The recognition of all religions. Buddhism did not emphasize its own particular position and reject practitioners of other religions, and did not exclude the various religions existing at the time. As Buddhism gradually spread into other Asian countries, this attitude allowed the new movement to absorb and fuse with diverse native forms of popular religion.

When the seven principles came to be translated into Chinese, they were colored or even altered by Confucianism. Let us compare three of those translations with the Pāli form—the *Yu-hsing-ching* (in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching*), *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (translated by Pai Fa-tsu), and *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (translated by Fa-hsien; see table 1.)

The text of the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* is almost identical to that of the *Fo-*

Table 1. The seven principles of stable government, according to Chinese translations of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*

	Yu-hsing-ching	*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*	*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*
1	They hold frequent meetings and discuss what is correct.	They hold frequent meetings, discussing political affairs, and make preparations to protect themselves.	They are glad, acting in harmony and doing nothing that differs from or goes against others.
2	Lords and ministers act in concert, and people of higher and lower status respect each other.	Lords and ministers are always in harmony, and [those] in office are faithful and obedient and respect each other.	They understand each other and discuss good actions.
3	They obey the law, understanding what is taboo and not acting against established rules.	They obey the law and follow it, selflessly and never erring.	They keep the precepts and maintain rites and customs.
4	They show devotion to their parents and revere and follow their honorable seniors.	They revere courtesies and instructions deeply. There is a separation between men and women. Old and young serve each other.	They revere their parents and other elders worthy of respect.
5	They respect the ancestral temples and venerate the demigods.	They show devotion to their parents, are modest and obedient toward their honorable seniors, and accept their instruction and admonitions.	Relatives maintain harmony with, and listen to, each other.
6	They do not disturb relations between men and women, and their deeds are clean and pure. The men and women exchange laughter with each other when at play but utter no indecent words.	They obey the laws of heaven and earth, stand in awe of the deities, and make offerings at the four seasons.*	They repair and make offerings to the shrines [*caitya*] within their country.
7	They serve practitioners well and respect, devote attention to, protect, and look after those who maintain the precepts, and they do not weary of those acts.	They honor and follow the moral way and make offerings of clothing, bedding, and medicine to those *śramaṇas* and *arhats* within the country or those who come from afar.	They obey the Buddha Dharma, greatly respect *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*, and offer their protection to lay followers, male and female.

* The "deities" here originally meant the deities of the land and of grain. The Chinese ideograms for "the four seasons" also mean "morning, noon, evening, and night."

pan-ni-yüan-ching, except that the sixth item reads: "They obey the laws of heaven and earth, and respect the demigods and venerate them at the four seasons."

The conclusion in the Pāli recension is that "the Vajjis can be expected to prosper and not decline" as long as they follow the seven principles. This conclusion is treated variously in the Chinese translations, as follows:

Yu-hsing-ching: "If they follow them well, young and old will act in concert, and they will enjoy increased prosperity, and the state will remain long at peace, suffering neither invasion nor harm."

Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching: "If this state practices the seven principles, it will not find itself in danger."

Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching: "If it follows [the seven principles] the virtue and influence of the people will increase daily, the land will prosper, and the people will live in abundance and peace."

Confucian authoritarianism could not admit any democratic and thoroughgoing idea of equality. The Chinese translators therefore changed the text to suit the Confucian spirit. For example, the second principle, expressed in the Pāli as "The Vajjis meet in concert with one another, act in concert with one another," became in Chinese "Lords and ministers act in concert and people of higher and lower status respect each other," and "Lords and ministers are always in harmony, and [those] in office are faithful and obedient." However, the original text implies that no one is designated lord or ruler; while, the Chinese text implies that "each person is master."

Again, whereas in the third clause the original merely means that the Vajjis do not change and amend what has been established, the Chinese translators added the concept of rites and customs. And, where the fourth clause has only "The Vajjis respect their elders of experience and long standing," the Chinese translations all add "They respect their parents" before the passage. As far as the Chinese were concerned, it was more important to venerate one's parents than elders in general. In the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* we find the supplementary "There is a separation between men and women," which also reflects Confucian imperatives. The passage means that men and women must not be too free with each other, so that they can courteously associate. It also means that there are differences between men's and women's concepts of decency.

The fifth clause, "The Vajjis do not forcibly abduct women and girls of good family, or force them to live with them," was changed by the translator of the *Yu-hsing-ching* to imply that women should preserve their

chastity. (The equivalent passage is in the sixth clause.) "The men and women exchange laughter with each other when at play but utter no indecent words" also derives from Chinese ways of thinking. (Indians have little hesitation about talking of sexual matters; even priests feel, as long as they themselves have no indecent thoughts, that they can be very frank about such things in their preaching.) The other two translations omit the clause entirely and substitute another Confucian idea.

The sixth clause means that shrines dedicated to great people should be cared for. The Chinese translations altered the text to incorporate ideas of ancestor veneration and adherence to the principles of heaven and earth. The passage equivalent to the Pāli clause is the fifth in the *Yu-hsing-ching*, which says, "They respect ancestral temples." The Pāli says, "The Vajjis respect, honor, revere, and support shrines [*cetiya*] of the Vajjis."[80] Let us examine a little more closely the meaning of *cetiya* (Skt., *caitya*), a word that can be translated to mean "a place of the spirits."[81] The Pāli commentary interprets it as "the abode of *yakkhas* with names" (*yakkhassa nivāsanaṭṭhānāṃ*).[82] *Yakkha* indicates a spiritual existence; in ancient times the word was often applied to tree gods. (See, for example, the sculpture of Bhārhut and Sāñcī.) The *cetiya* was originally the place where *yakkhas*, believed to dwell in trees, were worshiped. However, sometimes the Buddha himself is referred to as a *yakkha*, which would give an erroneous impression if it were transliterated into Chinese as "*yeh-ch'a*."[83] The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (III, 2) mentions later that "The Venerable Master went to the base of the sacred tree of Cāpāla [Pāli, *Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ*; Skt., *Cāpālam caityam*]." The ancient Chinese translators also interpreted *cetiya* (*caitya*) as "tree," for example, "he sat beneath a tree," making no reference to *cetiya* at all.[84]

"Sacred tree" is *cetiya* in Pāli and *caitya* in Sanskrit. *Cetiya* is usually translated into Chinese as "shrine" (*miao* or *tz'u-t'ang*),[85] but it would be a mistake to incorporate this concept into the idea of *cetiya* as it appears here. The Chinese ideograms for *miao* or *tz'u-t'ang* refer to the stone-and-brick *cetiya* that, judging by the archeological evidence, came into existence no earlier than the Maurya dynasty (317–ca. 180 B.C.E.). The Pāli *cetiya* denotes a far earlier form. E. J. Rapson suggests that the word *cetiya* derives from *citā* ("wood for cremation") and so means the mound built above the relics of a dead person or the tree planted at that place.[86] Originally it probably meant that the tree planted on top of a burial mound flourishes and that the place came to be considered as the abode of a spirit.

Buddhaghosa says, however, that *cetiya* derives from *citti-kata* ("thought much of," "revered").[87] He makes no reference at all to "burial mound." We should not hastily dismiss the views of Western scholars who base their interpretations on this idea, but we should also carefully consider the fact that Indian and South Asian scholars have long believed that the word derives from *cit* ("think"). According to a Jain scripture, the *ceie* (= *caitya*) called Manōrama in Mithilā was a sacred tree, "full of leaves, flowers, and fruits, which sheds a cool shadow; the tree is always a favourite resort of many (birds)."[88] Sometimes it also means "park."[89] The meaning of "sacred tree" is common to all ancient literature, whether Brahmanic, Jain, or Buddhist. Only later did Jains and Buddhists begin erecting mounds over the relics of their dead saints, and *cetiya* and *stūpa* (Skt.; "tope") then became synonymous. Thus in later times, *cetiya* could variously mean "shrine," "relic depository," or "sacred tree."

Franke translates *cetiya* as "Heiligtum" ("shrine or relic").[90] Śīlāṅka, a scholar of the Jain scriptures, defines *kriyāvādin* as people who "contend that the principal means of reaching Mōksha [emancipation] is *caityakarma*, the construction of sanctuaries."[91] Windisch shares this view.[92] In his opinion, "Heiligtum" is not an appropriate translation for *cetiya* in the ancient Buddhist period, since *cetiya* often means a tree or some similar natural form. *Gotamaka cetiya* seems to mean a "tree under which Gotama took his rest." The *Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ* of the Pāli recension (II, 2) is *Gautamanyagrodhaḥ* in the Sanskrit. That is, *cetiya* was interpreted as a giant banyan. Similar passages appear also in the *Divyāvadāna*.[93]

During the Buddha's lifetime there was, on the outskirts of Vesālī, a large tree believed to be sacred. Sakyamuni and Ānanda rested under its branches to escape the searing midday heat. After the end of the rainy season, temperatures soar and shade is a necessity. Perhaps this is the explanation of the word *cetiya* in this context. Evidence of a more substantial shrine in the place where the Vajjis lived will not be forthcoming without archaeological investigation, but even an excavation would turn up nothing if all that was there originally was a mound and a tree. It may sound strange that someone would take rest at a burial mound, but in fact Hindu ascetics still like to meditate in graveyards. Early Buddhists were encouraged to practice their religious training "among the mounds." An investigation of the Chinese translations of *Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ* adds another dimension of interest: "holy place" in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, "under the sacred tree" in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, "Che-p'o-lo mound" in the *Yu-hsing-ching*, "Che-po-lo *caitya*" in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, and "under the tree

of the Chü-kung *caitya*" in the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*.[94] Thus the early translations rendered *Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ* as "sitting under a sacred tree in a lonely place," while the later ones interpreted it as some kind of building.

Caitya derives from *citi*. The word *citi* means "brick," which is used to make an altar as prescribed in the Vedas. It is conceivable therefore that a similar brick (*citi*) altar was built around the base of a sacred tree, upon which offerings to the deity were placed. The word thus has no connection with cremation.

The Sanskrit recension was probably composed during the Sanskrit revival in the early centuries of the first millennium. Its author doubtless envisaged the *caitya* as a shrine of rock or brick, like the shrines from around that time that have been revealed in archaeological discoveries. This interpretation of *caitya* represents the first stage in the changing understanding of the term. Later, Chinese translators rendered *caitya* as *tsung-miao* ("ancestral shrine"),[95] clearly linking it with ancestor veneration, a coloration that did not reflect the Indian reality. This translation represents the second stage of the change.

The question of usage is closely related to the question of differences in ways of thinking among different races and peoples.

Discourse to the *Bhikkhus*

SITE OF THE DISCOURSE

Gotama Buddha then summoned the *bhikkhus* residing in Rājagaha to the assembly hall (Pāli, *upaṭṭhānasālā;* Skt., *upasthānaśālā*) on Vulture Peak. The *bhikkhus* were living scattered throughout the city. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* describes how Sakyamuni spoke to them about the seven principles they should follow in order to prosper and not decline, along the same lines as his discourse about the Vajjis. This passage, however, is one merely inserted in later years, after Vulture Peak had taken on mythological proportions, and there is little need to regard it as historical fact. First, the *bhikkhus* of the earliest period did not have "assembly halls"; rather, as the *Suttanipāta* points out, they lived in caves, under trees, and among burial mounds. Assembly halls came into being only later, after the development of Buddhism as an organization. Second, there was little space on the rocky, shrub-covered Vulture Peak to construct an assembly hall. The small ruin that can be seen today is thought to date from after the Gupta dynasty (320–ca. 500). Third, Vulture Peak is exposed to the direct rays of the sun; if *bhikkhus* had been there they would have been forced to shelter in caves to escape the severe midday heat. Though there are many caves on the mountain, none is large enough to accommodate a crowd of people. The caves on Vulture Peak are small and plain, unlike the vast cave temples of Ajantā and Ellōra.

The discourse about the Vajjis and the seven principles of stable government closely parallels the Buddha's discourse to the Saṅgha, or the community of *bhikkhus*. This fact demonstrates that the Saṅgha adopted republican principles in its organization. Later Buddhists tried by every means available to discuss the seven principles governing the prosperity of the Saṅgha in conjunction with Sakyamuni's teachings to lay people, for they realized, even if faintly, something fundamental that is applicable to both monks and the laity.

THE SEVEN WAYS TO PREVENT DECLINE

Gotama Buddha then spoke to the assembled *bhikkhus* in the same way he had instructed Vassakāra.

(6) Soon after Vassakāra, the minister of Magadha, had left, the Venerable Master addressed the young Ānanda: "Ānanda, go and gather together all the *bhikkhus* who are living near Rājagaha and bring them to the assembly hall.[96] "Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda, and he went and gathered in the assembly hall all the *bhikkhus* who were living near Rājagaha.[97] Then he approached the Venerable Master and, drawing near, saluted him, stood to one side, and said: "Venerable Master, the band of *bhikkhus* has assembled. May the Venerable Master now [come] as he wishes." Then the Venerable Master rose from his seat and went to the assembly hall. There he sat down at the place prepared for him and, having sat, addressed the *bhikkhus:* "*Bhikkhus*, I will speak to you of the seven conditions that will prevent decline. Listen well, attend, and I will speak."

"Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus*, and the Venerable Master said:
"[1] As long as the *bhikkhus* hold frequent and well-attended assemblies, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.
"[2] *Bhikkhus*, as long as they meet in concert with one another, act in

concert with one another, and do what they have to do as *bhikkhus* in concert, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[3] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not establish rules without precedence, they do not violate what has been established, but proceed according to the precepts and regulations already established, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[4] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they respect, honor, revere, and support elders rich in experience and of long standing, fathers and leaders of the Saṅgha, and regard them as worthy of listening to their words, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[5] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not fall under the sway of the craving that, springing up within them, would give rise to future delusory existences, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[6] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they aspire to live in forest dwellings, they may be expected to prosper and not to decline.[98]

"[7] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they abide in their own mindfulness, hoping that companions who will be good *bhikkhus* may come to live among them and that those companions who are good *bhikkhus* who are already there may live among them in peace, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"As long as those seven ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus,* and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus, bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline."[99]

The Buddha then related an additional list of seven items.

(7) "*Bhikkhus,* I will speak to you of seven other conditions that will prevent decline. Listen well, attend, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus,* and the Venerable Master said:

"[1] *Bhikkhus,* as long as *bhikkhus* do not rejoice in, take delight in, and happily devote themselves to action, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[2] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not rejoice in, take delight in, and happily devote themselves to idle chatter, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[3] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not rejoice in, take delight in, and happily devote themselves to sleep, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[4] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not rejoice in, take delight in, and happily devote themselves to social relationships, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[5] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not entertain and are not governed by evil desires, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[100]

"[6] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not associate with evil friends, evil companions, or evil groups, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[7] *Bhikkhus,* as long as they do not cease [their practice to attain *nibbāna*] once they have attained a slightly higher state, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[101]

"As long as those seven ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus,* and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus, bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline."[102]

Then he gave additional lists of seven items, affirmative this time rather than negative.

(8) "*Bhikkhus,* I will speak to you of seven other conditions that will prevent decline. Listen well, attend, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus,* and the Venerable Master said: "*Bhikkhus,* as long as *bhikkhus* have faith, shame, fear of doing wrong, learning, effort and endeavor, abiding mindfulness, and wisdom, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[103]

"*Bhikkhus,* as long as those seven ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus,* and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus, bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline.[104]

(9) "*Bhikkhus,* I will speak to you of seven other conditions that will prevent decline.[105] Listen well, attend, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus,* and the Venerable Master said: "*Bhikkhus,* as long as *bhikkhus* practice [the seven factors of enlightenment—] mindfulness, discernment of dhammas, effort, delight, tranquillity, concentration, and equanimity—they may be expected to prosper and not decline. As long as those seven ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus,* and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus, bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline.[106]

(10) "*Bhikkhus,* I will speak to you of seven other conditions that will prevent decline. Listen well, attend, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus,* and the Venerable Master said: "*Bhikkhus,* as long as *bhikkhus* practice the thought of impermanence of all things, of non-

self, of impurity, of disgust, of abandonment, of detachment from sensuous desire, and of elimination, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"*Bhikkhus*, as long as those seven ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus*, and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline."[107]

The text then adds more sets of six things to prevent decline. The various recensions are not in agreement in the number of sets they give. Only the *Yu-hsing-ching*, for example, gives seven sets of seven items. (See table 2.)

The earliest text probably included only the first of the sets of seven conditions, dealing with the ethical ideal for a public body; it can be found independently in other parts of the canon.[108] If we ignore the influence of Chinese thought in the Chinese translations, all sets are practically the same, whatever the recension. The other sets were added later, rising from within the monastic community itself as stipulations for the activities of *bhikkhus*. Examination even of the first seven nevertheless reveals some points of difference between the various recensions. For example, the seventh item as described by the *Yu-hsing-ching* says: "Put others first, yourself last; do not lust after fame," while the Sanskrit recension has: "*Bhikṣus* are expected to aspire to take up their abode in forests in remote areas." The Pāli recension agrees with the import of the latter. The various texts in Indic languages all stress the eremitic rather than the ethical nature of this item. The Chinese translations, in contrast, do emphasize the ethical

Table 2. Ways to prevent decline, as enumerated by various recensions of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*.

Scripture	Numbers of sets of ways	
	Seven ways	Six ways
Yu-hsing-ching	7	2
Pāli recension	6	1
Sanskrit recension	6	1
Tibetan recension	6	1
Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching	8	–
Pan-ni-yüan-ching	8	1
Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching	8	–
P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih	6	1

aspect and also communicate the spirit of Mahāyāna (consider the expression "I will bring others to liberation before liberating myself"). The fact that the prescription to live in forests was included at all shows that at that time some *bhikkhus* were already turning away from forest life to dwell in villages and towns (some teachings in the *Theragāthā* also advise *bhikkhus* to live in remote areas).

THE SIX WAYS TO PREVENT DECLINE

Gotama then spoke of six ways to prevent the decline of the Saṅgha.

(11) "*Bhikkhus*, I will speak to you of six other conditions that will prevent decline. Listen well, attend, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus*, and the Venerable Master said:

"[1] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* perform, both in public and in private, compassionate acts of the body toward fellow *bhikkhus*, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[109]

"[2] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* perform, both in public and in private, compassionate acts of speech toward fellow *bhikkhus*, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[110]

"[3] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* perform, both in public and in private, compassionate acts of mind toward fellow *bhikkhus*, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[111]

"[4] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* divide things without partiality and share them with their fellows, the keepers of the precepts—all things they receive in accordance with the provisions of the Saṅgha and even what they receive in a begging bowl—they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[5] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* follow, both in public and in private,[112] the practice of the practitioners who keep the precepts and regulations, unbroken, flawless, unspotted, stainless, leading to freedom,[113] praised by the wise, uncontaminated, and leading to concentration, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.

"[6] *Bhikkhus*, as long as *bhikkhus* practice to attain the ultimate stage of the [correct] view that leads to liberation from delusion and that frees those who practice it from suffering, and continue with their fellows to practice this excellent [correct] view, both in public and in private, they may be expected to prosper and not decline.[114]

"As long as these six[115] ways to prevent decline exist among *bhikkhus*, and are seen to be observed by *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhus* may be expected to prosper and not decline."[116]

The sutra then notes briefly the other subjects the Buddha discussed at Vulture Peak: "(12) The Venerable Master, while staying on Vulture Peak at Rājagaha, gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of lectures on the Dharma. 'These are the precepts and regulations. This is concentration. This is wisdom.[117] Concentration perfected with the precepts brings a great result, great merit.[118] Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely liberated from all stain,[119] the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views,[120] and the stain of ignorance.'"[121] These topics were not recorded in detail in the sutra.

DEPARTURE

EN ROUTE TO PĀṬALIPUTRA—THE DISCOURSE AT BAMBOO GROVE PARK

According to the Pāli recension, Gotama Buddha's last journey took the following course:

In Magadha: Vulture Peak and Rājagaha, Ambalaṭṭhikā park, Nālandā, and Pāṭaligāma (the village of Pāṭali).

In the country of the Vajjis: the Ganges crossing (the Gotama Ford), Koṭigāma (the village of Koṭi), Nādika, Beluva (the rainy-season retreat), Vesālī, Bhaṇḍagāma (the village of Bhaṇḍa), Hatthigāma (the village of Hatthi), Ambagāma (the village of Amba), Jambugāma (the village of Jambu), and Bhoganagara.

In the country of the Mallas: Pāvā, Kakutthā River, and Kusinārā.

The names and the order in which they appear vary slightly according to the recension; ongoing study is necessary.[122] In the Buddha's time, a trunk road, the most important trade route in eastern India, connected Rājagṛha, Pāṭaliputra, Vaiśālī, Bhoganagara, Pāvā, Kuśinagar, and Śrāvastī. Gotama followed this road on his last journey. All texts say, without exception, that Sakyamuni was accompanied only by male followers (*bhikkhus*); ordained women (*bhikkhunīs*) do not seem to have been with him.

Whenever Sakyamuni set out for a new destination, he always told Ānanda where they were going. Though all the recensions say that Sakyamuni "led a large company of *bhikkhus*," it is far more likely that he traveled only with Ānanda, who acted as his attendant. This is an important point. Anuruddha was also with him at the time of his death, but it is not known how many other disciples were present. This fact raises the possibility that though Gotama had authority as the founder of Buddhism, he was by this time virtually living a life of retirement.

According to the Sanskrit recension, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, and the *Yu-hsing-ching*, Sakyamuni went from Vulture Peak to Pāṭaliputra; the Pāli text says that he went first to Ambalaṭṭhikā,[123] where he stayed in the king's villa, the small dwelling (*āgara-ka*) in the park (*rājāgāraka*) where the king of Magadha went to relax. The fact that the Buddha stayed there shows the esteem with which society regarded him.

The Pāli text continues: "(15) The Venerable Master, having stayed at the Ambalaṭṭhikā [park] as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Nālandā.'[124] 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then, the Venerable Master went to Nālandā together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. At Nālandā, the Venerable Master stayed at the mango grove of [the rich merchant] Pāvārika."[125] Nālandā is in Bihar, about ten kilometers north of Rājagaha. By the seventh century it was the site of a great Buddhist university, with large numbers of temples and monasteries, where Hsüan-tsang and other pilgrims from China studied. It was a key center of later Buddhism. During the Buddha's time, however, it was not a place of much significance, and Gotama did not spend a single rainy-season retreat there. To his mind Rājagaha was far more important.

The Pāli recension says that after descending Vulture Peak, Gotama went first to the king's villa in the Ambalaṭṭhikā park near Rājagaha, then to Nālandā, where he stayed at the wealthy merchant Pāvārika's mango grove (Pāvārikambavana), and then went on to the village of Pāṭali. The Sanskrit version and the Chinese and Tibetan translations, however, make no mention of Nālandā and they contain no equivalent passage. It thus seems more than likely that this was a later addition.

The extant Pāli recension describes in detail how Gotama went from Ambalaṭṭhikā to Nālandā. Since Nālandā lies on the road between Rājagaha and the village of Pāṭali, Gotama no doubt did pass by the place, but the earlier texts ignored it. This fact suggests that at the time the originals of these texts were composed, Nālandā was not at all important. By the time the extant Pāli recension came into being, however, Nālandā had become prominent; its name may therefore have been introduced just before the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* took its present form.

The Pāli recension also describes how Gotama met Sāriputta and held discusssions with him in Pāvārika's mango grove in Nālandā. Since this episode does not appear in the Chinese translations, and in any case Sāriputta probably died before the Buddha, the passage, which appears also in other Buddhist writings, must have been integrated into the text of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*.[126] There is no historical basis for the episode.

Although individual items and episodes may reflect recording errors and later fabrication, there can be no doubt about the historicity of the journey as a whole, for the Buddha would never have visited the villages listed if he had been undertaking a planned trip for the purpose of proselytization. Gotama left Rājagaha without making any advance arrangements, probably with Ānanda as his sole companion. When the opportunity arose, he taught people. It was a quiet and peaceful journey.

The area between Patna and Rājgīr is dominated by fields. Around Patna are large numbers of ponds and water tanks. Palm trees dot the landscape and in some places form groves. Cattle graze in the fields and a great many brickyards are present. Barley is harvested in Bihar before the beginning of the rainy season, and rice is planted after it. Between Patna and Nālandā the roadside is covered with marigold flowers. Gotama probably saw much the same landscape when he traveled through the district.

The *suttanta* continues: "(18) The Venerable Master, while staying at Pāvārika's mango grove in Nālandā, gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of lectures concerning the Dhamma. 'Such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration perfected with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely liberated from all stain—the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance.'"[127]

AT PĀṬALIPUTRA—WORDS TO THE LAY FOLLOWERS

According to the Pāli recension, Gotama then said to Ānanda, "Ānanda, let us go to Pāṭaligāma,"[128] and Ānanda assented. The two moved to Pāṭaligāma, perhaps accompanied by a small number of *bhikkhus*. At that time Pāṭaligāma was no more than a small river port on the Ganges, though during the Nanda and Maurya dynasties (fifth to fourth century B.C.E.) it was the flourishing capital of all India. Its site is occupied by the modern city of Patna.[129] The historical fact of the rise and fall of Pāṭaliputra (Pāṭaligāma) is described in the Pāli recension in the form of a prophecy.

In the Buddha's time Pāṭaliputra was hardly more than a village, and the Sanskrit recension (IV, 1) in fact calls it Pāṭaligrāmaka ("the small village of Pāṭali"). It became the capital during the Maurya dynasty, but later writers could not erase the fact that the great seat of the Maurya dynasty was once an insignificant village.

Lay followers came out to welcome Gotama when he arrived in the village of Pāṭali. The Pāli recension (the part that is common to the Sanskrit recension) describes the situation as follows: "(20) At Pāṭaligāma lay followers, hearing that the Venerable Master had arrived in Pāṭaligāma, went out to where he was staying. Having come to him, they greeted him and sat to one side." The Pāli recension in particular is full of vivid detail: "The lay followers of Pāṭaligāma said to the Venerable Master: 'Venerable One, may you agree to stay at our resthouse.' The Venerable Master gave his assent by silence."[130] Gotama often received invitations along the course of his journey. Since the *bhikkhus* of the early period were not allowed to possess money, they could not buy food and had either to obtain it through begging or to be invited to a meal by a lay follower. During the journey the Buddha often responded to an offer not with words, but with silence. Why was this? The custom that silence indicated a lack of dissent in meetings has existed in the West since the Roman period. In India religious ascetics probably preferred to maintain silence because they did not wish to be troubled by trivial matters. Gotama in particular, considered a man who had gone beyond all anxieties of the world, would have been portrayed by his followers as being the ideal of such behavior. The custom of early Buddhist sculpture not to depict the figure of the Buddha, but to leave the space he occupied blank, derives from a similar feeling. Not to express the Buddha in either form or words is to demonstrate his boundless depth. Accepting an invitation by silence was prescribed for *bhikkhus* in later Buddhism. If the Buddha had expressed verbal thanks at Pāṭaligāma for his followers' invitation to stay and eat with them, his mind would have been considered stained. This is the origin of the behavior of *bhikkhus* in South Asia today, viewed as haughty by some observers.

(21) Then the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma, understanding the Venerable Master's assent, rose from their seats, saluted him, passed by him on the right, and went to the resthouse. Arriving there, they spread mats over the entire floor, prepared a seat, placed a water flask in position, and set up an oil lamp.[131] Then they went to the Venerable Master, saluted

him, and stood to one side. Standing to one side, the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma spoke to the Venerable Master: "We have spread mats over the entire floor of the resthouse, prepared a seat, placed a water flask in position, and set up an oil lamp. Venerable One, if the Venerable Master considers it suitable now [to rest], let him come as he wishes."[132]

This description is probably factual. Even today, when one stays in the interior of India, the same kind of hospitality is offered. Now the water flask is made of unglazed pottery or metal, and it contains water for drinking and for washing the hands. Though we take washing for granted, in the Buddha's time it was an action particularly commended among the *bhikkhus*. In India offering water to religious practitioners or guests is an important form of veneration. In the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (Commentary on the *Dīgha-Nikāya*), Buddhaghosa wrote: "As drops of water fall from a lotus leaf, no stain adheres. [The Buddha] washes his hands in order to refresh himself and to create merit for those who offer [the water], . . . indicating that *bhikkhus* must wash [their hands] before going to bed."[133] The fact that the followers lit a lamp does not necessarily mean that the gathering was held at night. Lighting a lamp is an Indian custom to welcome guests. Indians still sometimes light lamps when they have guests, even in the daytime. Perhaps this practice derives from the need to shut windows and blinds against the midday heat and the unbearably hot breezes that would blow in through open windows. Thus the room becomes quite dark and must be illuminated if guests arrive. Modern hotels, though fully air-conditioned, still sometimes welcome guests with lamps.

According to the *Yu-hsing-ching*, Sakyamuni "next arrived in Pāṭaliputra and sat down beneath the *pāṭali* tree. Then a crowd of lay followers heard that the Buddha, accompanied by a great band of *bhikṣus*, had come from far away and reached the *pāṭali* tree. . . . And later they erected a large hall for the Tathāgata."[134] In contrast, the Pāli text says, "The lay followers of Pāṭaligāma said to the Venerable Master: 'Venerable One, may you agree to stay at our resthouse [*āvasathāgāra*].'"[135] Such a resthouse was a lodging for guests.[136] Gotama probably had no liking for a place frequented by others and moved to a quiet room ("an empty room"). The *Yu-hsing-ching* makes no reference to a guests' lodging and states that Gotama sat beneath a sacred tree and engaged in friendly talk. Whatever the case, the Pāli description is far more vivid than the Sanskrit: "(22) Then the Venerable Master put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and bowl, and went to the resthouse with the other *bhikkhus*. Arriving there, he washed his feet, went in, and sat down near the central pillar, facing the east.[137] The *bhikkhus* also washed their feet and entered the resthouse, sitting down near the west wall and facing the east, with the Venerable Master sitting in front of them.[138] The lay followers of Pāṭaligāma also washed their feet and entered the resthouse, sitting down near the east wall and facing the west,[139] with the Venerable Master sitting in front of them."[140] According to the Pāli text, the Buddha sat "near the central pillar, facing the east" (*majjhimaṃ thambhaṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho, nissāya = upanissāya*). All versions say that Sakyamuni spoke to the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma about the need to keep the precepts, and that the lay followers enunciated the Triple Refuge and the five precepts, which were considered prerequisites for followers of the Buddha. The discourse is transcribed briefly in the Pāli text (see the next section). The *suttanta* continues: "(25) Then the Venerable Master, having spoken far into the night to the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma, instructing, inspiring, and delighting them by the discourse about the Dhamma, dismissed them, saying: 'Householders, the night is advanced; it is time for you to do as you choose.' The lay followers of Pāṭaligāma replied, 'We understand,' and rose from their seats, saluted the Venerable Master reverently, and departed, passing by him on the right. When the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma had left, the Venerable Master entered an empty room."[141] In contrast, the equivalent passage in the *Yu-hsing-ching* is extremely detailed—no doubt a later interpolation.

Gotama's visit to Pāṭaligāma and his discourse there must have been an important incident memorized by early Buddhists, for it is recorded also in the *Udāna* (VIII, 6).

DISCOURSE TO THE LAY FOLLOWERS OF PĀṬALIGĀMA

Let us now examine the discourse Gotama gave at Pāṭaligāma about the precepts.[142]

(23) Then the Venerable Master addressed the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma, "Householders, five misfortunes await one who does evil, breaking the precepts.[143] What are those five? Well, householders, those who do evil, breaking the precepts, through their neglect suffer much loss of their property. This is the first misfortune that awaits those who do evil, breaking the precepts. Next, householders, those who do evil, breaking the precepts, receive a bad reputation. This is the second misfortune that awaits those who do evil, breaking the precepts. Next,

householders, those who do evil, breaking the precepts, are anxious and fearful wherever they go, whether it is an assembly of the royal house, Brahmins, householders, or *bhikkhus*. This is the third misfortune that awaits those who do evil, breaking the precepts. Next, householders, those who do evil, breaking the precepts, are unhinged [full of anxiety] upon death. This is the fourth misfortune that awaits those who do evil, breaking the precepts. Next, householders, those who do evil, breaking the precepts, will, after their bodies break up and they die, be reborn in an evil state, a painful state, a fallen state, in a hell.[144] This is the fifth misfortune that awaits those who do evil, breaking the precepts.

(24) "Householders, five advantages await those who are of good character and observe the precepts. What are those five? Well, householders, those who observe the precepts and are of good character, because they neglect nothing, gain much wealth. This is the first advantage that awaits those who are of good character and observe the precepts. Next, householders, those who observe the precepts and are of good character have a good reputation. This is the second advantage that awaits those who are of good character and observe the precepts. Next, householders, those who observe the precepts and are of good character are confident and fearless at whatever assembly they attend, whether of the royal house, Brahmins, householders, or *bhikkhus*. This is the third advantage that awaits those who are of good character and observe the precepts. Next, householders, those who observe the precepts and are of good character are not unhinged upon death.[145] This is the fourth advantage that awaits those who are of good character and observe the precepts. Next, householders, those who observe the precepts and are of good character will be reborn in a good state in a heavenly realm after their bodies break up and they die. This is the fifth advantage that awaits those who are of good character and observe the precepts.

(25) "Householders, these five are the advantages awaiting one who is of good character and observes the precepts." Then the Venerable Master, having spoken far into the night to the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma,[146] instructing, inspiring, and delighting them by the discourse concerning the Dhamma, dismissed them, saying: "Householders, the night is advanced; it is time for you to do as you choose." The lay followers of Pāṭaligāma replied, "We understand," and rose from their seats, saluted the Venerable Master reverently, and departed, passing by him on the right. When the lay followers of Pāṭaligāma had left, the Venerable Master entered an empty room.[147]

Whereas the Pāli text says that those who gathered were "lay followers" (*upāsaka*), the Sanskrit text (IV, 3) has "Brahmins and householders" (*brāhmaṇa-gṛhapatayaḥ*). The Pāli version assumes lay followers in general, while the Sanskrit text limits itself to the upper castes, indicating Sanskrit Buddhism's attitude toward caste.[148] Nevertheless, most of those who gave their faith to Gotama were probably of the affluent castes. This would explain why, in the discourse just quoted, the Buddha calls his listeners "householders" (*gahapatiyo;* a term applied to a person of independent means). In addition, the Pāli version seems to imply that a person should not neglect his proper duties, whereas the Sanskrit text (IV, 13) speaks of having enough food, and the Chinese text of wealth. These latter texts are very specific, suggesting that the average layperson was most concerned about these matters: "Then, knowing that the Brahmins and householders of Pāṭaligrāmaka had gone, the Venerable Master washed his feet outside the resthouse, and then entered and sat down."[149]

Although the various recensions differ in certain matters, the points they have in common can be summarized as follows:

1. Gotama taught principally laypeople. Since at that time ordained members of the order probably were very few, there was virtually no need to give particular teaching to them. Buddhism developed because of Gotama's focus on laypeople.

2. It was the community of the ordained, however, that converted the Buddha's last journey into a scripture. As a result, the contents of the teaching given to laypeople became blurred and vague.

3. Details are unclear, but the contents of the discourses given to these believers advocated cautious decisions about behavior.

The common element of discourses in the places where the Buddha preached, including Pāṭaligāma, was the teaching to laypeople that they should not neglect their practice of the Way and should keep the precepts. The question then arises: What was the nature of those precepts? None of the recensions gives a clear answer. Only the *Yu-hsing-ching* records that laypeople "from this time vowed not to forget to keep the precepts—not to kill, not to steal, not to commit sexual misdeeds, not to cheat, not to drink intoxicants."[150] In later times these became fixed as the five lay precepts: 1) do not kill living beings; 2) do not steal; 3) do not commit sexual misconduct; 4) do not lie; and 5) do not drink intoxicants. The first four proscribe actual evil conduct and the fifth warns of dangers that might lead one to commit evil. Maintaining these five precepts was the first step in becoming a Buddhist. The five precepts do not appear in

the oldest texts, however, so it is unlikely that they were Gotama Buddha's principal theme at Pāṭaliputra.

THE FATE OF PĀṬALIPUTRA

The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* records how construction on the great city that was to become the Mauryan capital began:[151] "(26) At that time, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, were building [the fortress of] a city at Pāṭaligāma as a defense against [incursion by] the Vajjis."[152] The brief expression "were building [the fortress of] a city at Pāṭaligāma" is very important. At that time building a city did not mean constructing roads and buildings according to an urban plan, but building a fortress as a defense against attack.[153] Such a fortress-city is called a *nagara*. We see from this passage that a defensive citadel was built first at Pāṭaligāma; it was from this structure that the city later expanded. The citadel was integral to the city and preceded it.

Rājagaha occupied a site of strategic importance. Surrounded by mountains, it was ideal for repelling enemy incursion. In fact, it was virtually the only strategic feature in the whole of Magadha, an area that was mostly rolling plain. As Magadha expanded territorially, Rājagaha was fast becoming inconvenient and unsuitable as the seat of government for the vast lands it dominated. Pāṭaligāma, in contrast, filled the requirements well, standing at a junction of important land routes and near the confluence of several rivers. Pāṭaligāma was not far from Rājagaha, but it was far more convenient. Thus the Magadhans, while using Pāṭaligāma as a forward offensive position against the Vajjis, also planned it as the future capital. This plan was continued by successive rulers. Ajātasattu's son Udāyin (also called Udāyibhadda) built a new city there, which was to become known as Pāṭaliputra.[154] It flourished later as the capital of Candragupta, Aśoka, and other Mauryan rulers, and was called the "city of flowers" (Kusumapura [Skt. and Pāli] or Pupphapura [Pāli]).[155] It was situated on the site of modern Patna. The ruins of the palace are visible today at Kumrahar on the outskirts of Patna, in a park along the road leading to Nālandā.

The sutra describes the building of the city in mythological terms:

> (26 [*continued*]) And at that time many thousands of deities occupied different areas of Pāṭaligāma. In the places the powerful deities choose to occupy, the powerful kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings.[156] In the areas the middle-ranking deities choose to occupy, the middle-ranking kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings. In the areas the lower-ranking deities choose to occupy, the lower-ranking kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings.
>
> (27) The Venerable Master then saw, with his clear and superhuman power of sight, that many thousands of deities were occupying different areas of Pāṭaligāma. And getting up in the early morning, he asked the young Ānanda, "Ānanda, who is building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma?"[157] "Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, are building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma as a defense against [incursion by] the Vajjis."
>
> (28) "Ānanda, as if they had spoken to the deities in the heaven of the thirty-three deities, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, are building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma as a defense against incursion by the Vajjis.[158] I have seen, Ānanda, with my clear and superhuman power of sight, that many thousands of deities are occupying different areas of Pāṭaligāma. In the areas the powerful deities choose to occupy, the powerful kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings. In the areas the middle-ranking deities choose to occupy, the middle-ranking kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings. In the areas the lower-ranking deities choose to occupy, the lower-ranking kings and ministers decide to build their dwellings."[159]

We might interpret this passage as indicating that there were tutelary deities protecting each piece of land, and that without their divine protection construction was thought unlikely to be successful.

Pāṭaliputra probably declined after the reign (268–232 B.C.E.) of Aśoka, the third king of the Maurya dynasty, or after the end of the dynasty itself (317–ca. 180 B.C.E.). The sutra mentions the circumstances in the form of a prophecy by Sakyamuni: "As long as Pāṭaliputta [Skt., Pāṭaliputra] is a great city, a center for trade, it shall be the capital [*agganagara*], a center of collection and dispersal of goods. However, Pāṭaliputta will face three calamities: from fire, water, and internal dissension."[160] The Buddha's prophecy reflects historical fact. Hearing how he foresaw these events, Buddhists of the time must have further deepened their faith in the Buddha. From the point of view of textual criticism, however, the decline of Pāṭaliputra as the Mauryan capital occurred after the reign of Aśoka, which means that the prototype of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* must have been composed in the second century B.C.E. or thereafter. Archaeological

evidence has revealed that Pāṭaliputra was later inundated by floods; details can be found in the excavation reports.[161] The city finally disappeared in the mid-eighth century due to a flood.[162] Pāṭaliputra was also subject to attack from without. Magadha was eventually overcome by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga; Pāṭaliputra was also defeated by the Greeks.[163] Again, these incidents seem to be reflected in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, additional reason for dating its composition after the reign of King Aśoka or after the end of the Maurya dynasty.[164]

Gotama Buddha then received an invitation from the two ministers.[165]

> (29) Then Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, went to where the Venerable Master was. Having arrived, they exchanged glad words with the Venerable Master.[166] Having exchanged greetings, they stood to one side. Standing to one side, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, said to the Venerable Master: "May Master Gotama consent to eating a meal at our house together with his *bhikkhus* today." The Venerable Master gave his assent by silence. Then Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, understanding the Venerable Master's assent, went to their dwelling place and, arriving there, prepared a fine meal,[167] and then announced: "Master Gotama, it is time. The meal has been prepared."
>
> (30) Then the Venerable Master, early in the morning, put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and bowl, and went to the house of Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, with the band of *bhikkhus*. Arriving there, he sat in the seat prepared for him. Then Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, served the Buddha and the band of *bhikkhus* fine food until they were satisfied. When the Venerable Master had finished his meal and had washed his hands and bowl, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, brought forth low seats and sat down to one side.[168]

That Gotama received offerings from the ministers assigned to the construction of the fortress is an indication of his social standing. He spoke to them of the importance of the aid and protection of local tutelary deities in the construction of a settlement.

> (31) When Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of

> Magadha, had sat down to one side, the Venerable Master gladdened their hearts with the following verse:
>
> "Those who are born wise,
> Wherever they make their dwelling,
> Should make offerings to those who follow the Pure Practice,
> virtuous and self-controlled.
> The minor deities who live in that place
> Will transfer [the merit of] that donation.
> They [the deities] will make offerings to those who make
> offerings to them,
> Will honor those who honor them.
> They will love and protect them,
> As a mother loves and protects her child,
> And those who receive divine protection are always happy."[169]
>
> When the Venerable Master had gladdened the hearts of Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, with this verse, he rose from his seat and left.[170]

It is of interest that the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* says here that Sakyamuni taught "universal love."[171] This was a doctrine propounded by the Chinese philosopher Mo-tzu (ca. 480–ca. 390 B.C.E.); the Chinese translators must have believed that Buddhist thought and Mo-tzu's ideas were connected.

All the recensions say that Vassakāra invited Sakyamuni and his *bhikkhus* to his home, which seems to indicate that the accompanying band could not have been large. The Sanskrit recension describes how the minister Varṣākāra offered Śākyamuni a "golden pitcher" (VI, 9). This is clearly a later fabrication, for gold was not in general use in India until the Kushana dynasty (the latter half of the first century to the mid-third century). No golden pitchers have ever been found in remains from the Buddha's time or from the Maurya dynasty.

CROSSING THE GANGES

Gotama next crossed the Ganges. The gate he departed from was called the Gotama Gate (Gotama-dvāra) and the ford by which he crossed the river was called the Gotama Ford (Gotama-tittha): "(32) At that time Sunīdha and Vassakāra, ministers of the kingdom of Magadha, followed behind the Venerable Master, saying: 'The gate by which the *samaṇa* Gotama leaves today will be called the Gotama Gate, and the ford by which

he crosses the Ganges River will be called the Gotama Ford.'[172] And so the gate by which the Venerable Master left was called the Gotama Gate."[173] There is no place today that can be identified as the Gotama Ford, though there are many fords along the Patna bank. One large landing place caters to ferries, and there are numerous others where smaller craft can land. The one that I went to see was simply a sandy cliff, having neither steps, nor pavement, nor any kind of facility. Several small boats transporting sand were moored there. Laborers carried the sand away in flat baskets on their heads; probably the sand would be mixed with concrete for construction. When the boats had pulled into the shallows, the laborers waded out to receive their loads. The scene would scarcely have changed from the time of Gotama.

> (33) Then the Venerable Master came to the Ganges River. At that time the river was very full, and the water lapped up to the ford, and so flat was it that even a crow could drink the water. Some people were seeking a boat, some were seeking a [large] raft, and some were tying together a [small] raft. All wished to reach the other shore. Then, as quickly as a strong man stretches out a bent arm, and again bends the outstretched arm, in such a short time as this, [the Venerable Master] disappeared from this shore and with his band of *bhikkhus* appeared on the other shore.[174]
>
> (34) Then the Venerable Master saw how some people were seeking a boat, some were seeking a [large] raft, and some were tying together a [small] raft, wishing to reach the other shore. Perceiving this, the Venerable Master uttered these words of inspiration:[175]
>
> "Some cross the [wide and deep] sea or lake, by making a solid path,
> not touching the marsh land,[176]
> Others cross it by tying together a raft [of planks or vines];
> The wise, however, have crossed already."[177]

The Pāli text attributes the verse to Gotama Buddha, whereas the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin texts say that it was recited by "a *bhikkhu*." Probably it was an ancient verse that had been introduced into the narrative, which would account for the different attributions.

As further verses in the other versions not contained in the Pāli text indicate, the subject of the verse is praise for the enlightened person who will no longer be reborn into this pain-filled existence. It can be interpreted in four possible ways. First, it commends devising various methods for crossing rivers and swamps; that is, it represents a version of the idea of

upāya (skillful, or expedient, means). In that case the verse might include an element of praise for those people who, in a time when transportation was underdeveloped, opened up communications in a practical way. Buddhism, particularly Mahāyāna Buddhism, differs from Jainism in commending the making of things as virtuous action; perhaps we see here the sprouting of the idea. Second, ordinary people try various means to cross the river or swamp, but the "wise" (the Buddha and his followers) have already crossed without using a raft (*vinā yeva kullena*). This is Buddhaghosa's interpretation,[178] a religious understanding of the verse that praises the Buddha and his disciples. Third, ordinary people perform actions that can be compared to a raft, like relying on religious rituals and prayers to the deities, but the wise have already crossed the sea of passion and desire (see *Dhammapada*, 91). This is Rhys Davids's interpretation. Fourth, the wise quickly build a bridge, to conquer the flood of an existence marked by desire. Ordinary people scurry around seeking a raft and come across the bridge made by the wise, which is the quickest way to the other shore. This is Franke's interpretation. Since it is difficult to know which is the correct version, I have contented myself with translating it literally.

Another meaning, however, may be implied. Life is filled with various anxieties and difficulties. People strive to move beyond them and reach the ideal realm—stated metaphorically in terms of people building several kinds of boats and rafts to reach the other shore. In the same way, it can be said that there are various methods of reaching the ideal, suitable for different types of people. Perhaps the verse encourages the listener to understand the ideas and practices of others, thus diminishing potential sources of conflict born of narrow-mindedness and establishing a spirit of tolerance.

The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* here translates the state of nirvana as *sheng-hsien* ("becoming an immortal"), which suggests Taoist influence.[179]

To Koṭigāma and Nādika

After crossing the Ganges, Gotama led his *bhikkhus* to Koṭigāma. "(1) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Koṭigāma.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master went to Koṭigāma together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. There the Venerable Master stayed in the village itself."[180] At Koṭigāma, he is said to have taught the Four Noble Truths.

(2) Then the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:* "*Bhikkhus,* because the Four Noble Truths have not been realized, not penetrated, I and you too have for a long time gone from existence to existence in the round of birth and death.[181] What are these four truths? *Bhikkhus,* because the noble truth of suffering has not been realized, not penetrated, I and you too have for a long time gone from existence to existence in the round of birth and death. *Bhikkhus,* because the noble truth of the origin of suffering has not been realized, not penetrated, I and you too have for a long time gone from existence to existence in the round of birth and death. *Bhikkhus,* because the noble truth of the extinction of suffering has not been realized, not penetrated, I and you too have for a long time gone from existence to existence in the round of birth and death. *Bhikkhus,* because the noble truth of the way to the extinction of suffering has not been realized, not penetrated, I and you too have for a long time gone from existence to existence in the round of birth and death. However, *bhikkhus,* the noble truth of suffering has been realized and penetrated, the noble truth of the origin of suffering has been realized and penetrated, the noble truth of the extinction of suffering has been realized and penetrated, and the noble truth of the way to the extinction of suffering has been realized and penetrated. The craving for existence has been eliminated. The [craving] that leads to existence has been eliminated.[182] No more will there be any deluded existence."[183]

(3) The Venerable Master spoke thus. After the Sugata had spoken the Master said:[184]

"Not seeing the Four Noble Truths as they are,
Long is the path that is traversed from life to life.[185]
Those [noble truths] have already been seen,
The craving that leads to existence has been eliminated.
The roots of suffering have been eliminated.
No more will there be any deluded existence."[186]

It is usual to preach the Eightfold Path as the practice of the teaching based on the Four Noble Truths, yet here the sutra does not mention it. Instead, the Buddha is said to have spoken of practicing morality, concentration, and wisdom: "(4) Next the Venerable Master, while staying in Koṭigāma, gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of discourses about the Dhamma. 'Such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration perfected with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely liberated from all stain—the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance.'"[187] The Sanskrit text is somewhat different:

(VIII, 1) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda:
(VIII, 2) "Ānanda, let us go to Kuṭigrāmaka."
(VIII, 3) "Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda.
(VIII, 4) Then the Venerable Master went to Kuṭigrāmaka on foot. As he walked, he came to Kuṭigrāmaka. He stayed in the Śiṃśapā grove north of the village.
(VIII, 5) Then the Venerable Master said to the *bhikṣus:*
(VIII, 6) "*Bhikṣus,* such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration practiced with the precepts continues a long time. A mind bound by the practice of wisdom is completely liberated from greed, from anger, and from delusion.
(VIII, 7) "A fine disciple of the Buddha whose mind is completely liberated knows [the Truth] perfectly. My births are exhausted. I have accomplished my pure practice. I have done all that needs to be done. Henceforth, I will not know any other deluded existence."[188]

Sentences equivalent to the penultimate section of the Sanskrit text appear in many places in the Pāli text.[189] They do not reappear often in the Sanskrit version.

Again, the sutra gives only the outline of the discourse. "Such and such are the precepts and regulations" is *iti sīlam; iti* ("thus") does not indicate specifically what was said, and we do not gain any knowledge of it from the context. This is a standard device for outlining what Gotama said about religious practice. Of course, at the time of the actual discourse the details would have been filled in; this device was merely a means to aid memorization. From such lists were later devised the so-called threefold practice (*tisso sikkhā*)—morality (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*)—to which emancipation (*vimutti*)[190] was later added, and the doctrine of the Law-body equated with the five attributes: morality, concentration, wisdom, emancipation, and perfect knowledge of the state of emancipation. The *Yu-hsing-ching* speaks of the "four profound truths," which no doubt represent an earlier stage in the development of the number

of the teachings, as seen in the doctrine of the Law-body equated with the five attributes.

A comparison of the various texts of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* shows that the names of the places the Buddha visited on his final journey are almost identical. The description of what was taught at these places, however, differs considerably. This fact suggests that the discourses actually took place, but that their content as given in the texts was fiction created by later scholars. Such fiction is clearly observable where doctrine is given in the form of categories, which occurs in a number of the teachings. The actual content of the discourse, however, may be reflected in places where all versions agree and where the doctrine is not set out in categories.

At Nādika—the Fate of the Dead

The Pāli text says that after staying at Koṭigāma for a while, Gotama Buddha went on to the village of Nādika, where he dwelt in the "Brick House":[191] "(5) Now, the Venerable Master, having stayed at Koṭigāma as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to the place of the Nādikas.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master went to the place of the Nādikas together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. At Nādika, the Venerable Master stayed[192] within the Brick House."[193] According to the Sanskrit version, the village of Nādika was in the country of the Vṛjis. At Nādika, as at Koṭigāma, Sakyamuni gave discourses on the Dhamma (*dhammī kathā*), but the various recensions differ greatly in their accounts of the subject of those talks.[194] We have no knowledge of what the Buddha actually taught. The *Yu-hsing-ching* says that he taught "the four profound truths" (morality, concentration, wisdom, and emancipation) at Koṭigāma, while the Pāli recension says that he taught the Four Noble Truths. Gotama Buddha offered teachings at Koṭigāma, but their content was forgotten; what we have now are the opinions of those who compiled the Buddhist scriptures in later times, and who inserted various categories of doctrinal points of the Buddha's actual words. Though Buddhism has many teachings, they all return to one truth; as a result there is not a great deal of difference when it comes to actual practice.

All the traditions agree that in Nādika the Buddha spoke of the types of rebirth undergone by a number of Buddhists, lay and ordained, male and female.

(6) Then the young Ānanda approached the Venerable Master and, drawing near, greeted him and sat to one side. Having sat to one side, the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master:[195] "Venerable One, the *bhikkhu* Sāḷha has died at Nādika. What is the destination of his rebirth? Where has he been reborn? Venerable One, the *bhikkhunī* Nandā has died. What is the destination of her rebirth? Where has she been reborn? Venerable One, the male lay believer Sudatta has died at Nādika.[196] What is the destination of his rebirth? Where has he been reborn? Venerable One, the female lay believer Sujātā has died at Nādika.[197] What is the destination of her rebirth? Where has she been reborn? Venerable One, the male lay believer Kakudha has died at Nādika. What is the destination of his rebirth? Where has he been reborn? Venerable One, the male lay believer Kāliṅga. . . . Nikaṭa. . . . Kaṭissabha. . . . Tuṭṭha. . . . Santuṭṭha. . . . Bhadda. . . . Subhadda has died at Nādika. What is the destination of his rebirth? Where has he been reborn?"

(7) "Ānanda, the *bhikkhu* Sāḷha knew, attained, and realized in this life the unstained emancipation of mind and emancipation by wisdom, through the disappearance of all stain. Ānanda, the *bhikkhunī* Nandā has destroyed the five fetters that bind people to the lower realm [the realm of desire] and has been reborn spontaneously and has entered *nibbāna*, never to return [to this world] from that realm.[198] Ānanda, the male lay believer Sudatta, having destroyed the three fetters and reduced greed, anger, and delusion, has become a once-returner, and will return to this life [in the realm of desire] only once more, when he will put an end to all suffering.[199]

"Ānanda, the female lay believer Sujātā, having destroyed the three fetters, is a stream-enterer and never falls into evil states, and is certain of attaining enlightenment.[200] Ānanda, the male lay believer Kakudha has destroyed the five fetters that bind people to the lower realm and has been reborn spontaneously and will enter *nibbāna*, never to return [to this world] from that realm.[201] Ānanda, the male lay believer Kāliṅga . . . Nikaṭa . . . Kaṭissabha . . . Tuṭṭha . . . Santuṭṭha . . . Bhadda . . . Subhadda has destroyed the five fetters that bind people to the lower realm and has been reborn spontaneously and will enter *nibbāna*, never to return [to this world] from that realm.

"Further, Ānanda, more than fifty lay believers who have died at Nādika have destroyed the five fetters that bind people to the lower realm and have been reborn spontaneously and will enter *nibbāna*,

never to return [to this world] from that realm. Ānanda, more than ninety lay believers who have died at Nādika have destroyed the three fetters and reduced greed, anger, and delusion, have become once-returners, and will return [to this world] only once more, when they will put an end to all suffering. Ānanda, more than five hundred lay believers who have died at Nādika, having destroyed the three fetters, are stream-enterers, and not capable of falling into evil states, and are certain of attaining enlightenment.

(8) "Ānanda, it is not strange that one born a human being should die. That you should come to the one who has perfected his practice when each person dies to ask his or her fate is troubling to the one who has perfected his practice. Therefore, Ānanda, I will instruct you in the teaching called the 'Mirror of Dhamma,' whereby an accomplished disciple, if he wishes, can clearly discern his own fate:[202] 'I have destroyed the hells. I have destroyed the realm of the animals. I have destroyed the realm of the hungry spirits. I will not fall into an evil, painful place. I have become a stream-enterer, and cannot fall into [evil states]. I am certain to attain enlightenment.'

(9) "Ānanda, what is this teaching called the 'Mirror of Dhamma,' whereby an accomplished disciple, if he wishes, can clearly discern his own fate? 'I have destroyed the hells. I have destroyed the realm of the animals. I have destroyed the realm of the hungry spirits. I will not fall into an evil, painful place. I have become a stream-enterer, and cannot fall into [evil states]. I am certain to attain enlightenment.' Here, Ānanda, the accomplished disciple has pure faith in the Buddha,[203] saying: 'This Venerable Master is an Arahant, a perfectly enlightened being, endowed with wisdom and conduct, a Sugata, one who knows all worlds, incomparable, a trainer of stubborn men, a teacher of deities and human beings, a Buddha [an enlightened being], a Venerable Master.'[204]

"He also has pure faith in the Dhamma, saying: 'Well-taught by the Venerable Master is the Dhamma, visualizable here and now, directly efficacious, verifiable, leading to the ideal, witnessed by the wise themselves.'[205] He also has pure faith in the Saṅgha, saying: 'Well-trained is the Venerable Master's band of followers. Upright in training is the Venerable Master's band of followers. Following correct principles in practice is the Venerable Master's band of followers. Of harmonious practice is the Venerable Master's band of followers. The Venerable Master's band of followers is of eight stages of effort and attainment.[206]

They are worthy of respect, worthy of offerings, worthy of entertainment, worthy of veneration, and the greatest field of merit for the world.' The accomplished disciple is endowed with the precepts[207] that are loved by the sages—unbroken, without flaw, without impurities, unsullied, free from all restrictions, praised by the knowledgeable, unstained, and conducive to concentration.[208]

"This, Ānanda, is the teaching called the 'Mirror of Dhamma,' whereby an accomplished disciple, if he wishes, can clearly discern his own fate: 'I have destroyed the hells. I have destroyed the realm of the animals. I have destroyed the realm of the hungry spirits. I will not fall into an evil, painful place. I have become a stream-enterer, and cannot fall into [evil states]. I am certain to attain enlightenment.'"

(10) Now, the Venerable Master, while staying at the Brick House in Nādika, gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of lectures about the Dhamma. "Such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration perfected with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely liberated from all stain, the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance."[209]

This passage, too, may be considered the interpolation of later compilers, not a reflection of what Gotama actually taught at Nādika. But it seems to be true that he did teach each person to discern his or her future life.

At Vesālī

Gotama next went to the prosperous commercial city of Vesālī.[210] The site is now a village on a bank of the Gandak River.

THE SITE OF VESĀLĪ

Before India's independence the village was known as Basāṛ or Basāṛh. It appears in many books as Besarh or Bēsārh, though these names are not correct. After independence it was given its former name of Vaiśālī as part of the attempt to restore native traditions.[211] It appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Viśālā.[212] The name is often translated into Chinese as Kuang-

yen-ch'eng, interpreting *viśāla*, upon which the name is based, as "broad and wonderful."

Vaiśālī is located in Hājīpur Subdivision, Muzaffarpur District, Bihar State. It is some fifty kilometers north, and slightly west, of Patna. Today a bridge spans the Ganges, making access much easier than in the past. After crossing the Ganges at Patna and entering northern Bihar, the traveler sees a large number of mango groves. There is little undergrowth, so each tree is clearly visible. It is surprising how closely the scene matches descriptions in Buddhist writings. A sign stands at the entrance of the village, reading, in English: "The Earliest Republican State of Vaishali Welcomes You." Well before I came to this sign I saw a single-story resthouse (*paryaṭaka-gṣha*) which, having signs only in Hindi, is visited by few foreigners.

The birthplace of Mahāvīra, Vaiśālī is a holy place for Jains as well as Buddhists. The founder of Jainism was born of a noble family in the city and spent his childhood and youth there. He also went there, or near it, twelve times for the summer retreat after he became an ascetic. Vaiśālī is mentioned frequently in the Jain scriptures, but there are very few remains from that time. Only a group of dwellings in the moat-surrounded central part of the city has been discovered and excavated.[213]

One of the most prominent of the remains is a standing column erected by King Aśoka.[214] It rises more than eight meters (thirty-five feet) above the ground; it is said that a further four meters (eighteen feet) remains buried. The column is actually not located in Vaiśālī, but in the village of Kolhua in the same Muzaffarpur District. It bears no inscription, although in recent times people have written on it in the Nāgarī, Tibetan, and Roman scripts. The immediate vicinity is surrounded by a wire fence and within it are the remains of two stupas; local people say that the one nearest to the column is Ānanda's. When I visited Vaiśālī on January 31, 1986, these remains had neither supervisor nor office, and certainly no store. Outside the fence was a small farmhouse that looked like a storage shed, and a heavily laden papaya palm tree, but no sign of inhabitants. The arrival of our bus, however, was a major event that drew crowds of children from somewhere. Each stupa had been excavated on one side to the central core—perhaps by thieves, for there was no sign of reconstruction. A mound of cement in a small hut to the side of Aśoka's column and a pile of bricks outside suggested that the stupas were about to be repaired. The area was surrounded by fields. A museum (Purātana-tattva-saṃgrahālaya) stood close by, but it was closed on Fridays, the day I visited.

The *Pa-ta-ling-t'a fan-tsan* mentions the Vaiśālī stupas as one of the eight great sites that pilgrims should visit. Both Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang's travel records tell us that there were various sacred remains here, implying that Vaiśālī must have been an important center for pilgrims. Since both Chinese travelers were interested only in the religious nature of the places they visited, it is hardly surprising that they made no mention of its commerce or republican system of government. By their time, however, Vaiśālī's ancient significance had been forgotten and the city was known only as a place of pilgrimage. After the Muslim invasions, it lost even this role.

The boundary around the ancient city was about sixteen kilometers long and covered several villages, except Basāṛ. The site contains the remains of many stupas. Another site that includes a number of remains, near Bakhirā village in the northwest corner of the city, may have been situated outside the city walls, which were made of earth, not stone. The remains of the ruler's dwelling, known as Bisālgaṛh (King Bisāl's castle), were in the southeast corner of the city; the name shows the place's ancestry. Near the ruins of the "palace" is the Coronation Tank (Abhiṣeka-puṣkariṇī).[215] The village of Basāṛ is south-southwest of this site. Hsüan-tsang's description was used to identify this place; seals inscribed "Vesāli" have been found there. (Approximately a thousand seals dated between 200 B.C.E. and ca. 500 C.E. have been unearthed, but only two or three mention the city's name.) The city has been excavated by three archaeologists—Cunningham, Bloch, and Spooner—but they have not attained results that would prove it to be the ancient city of Vaiśālī. After the destruction caused by the Muslim invasion, pilgrims stopped visiting Vaiśālī and no more temples were built. Only recently have visitors begun to return.[216]

THE HISTORY OF VESĀLĪ

The tide of history seems to have passed Vaiśālī by, because the city did not lie in the geographical mainstream of Indian civilization. Its name does not appear in Brahmanical or Hindu works, which means that the religions ignored it. Hsüan-tsang attests to the existence of a Hindu temple in the seventh century, but it was a minor one. Nevertheless, Vaiśālī was important to Indian civilization in a different way, for it lay astride the king's highway connecting Patna and Nepal. Along this road Aśoka placed four columns; there are other remains as well. In the Buddha's time, Vaiśālī was the capital of the Licchavis, part of the Vṛji (Skt.; Pāli,

Vajji) tribe. Hsüan-tsang, however, made a distinction between them, saying that Vṛji territory was northeast of Vaiśālī, in the area of modern Darbhaṅgā.

Scholars have conjectured that the Licchavis originally came from abroad.[217] P. B. Spooner suggests that they were Persian immigrants, while Vincent A. Smith thinks that they were Mongolian and resembled the Tibetans and the hill tribes of the Himalayas. Their customs certainly were not typical of Hinduism in general. The *Laws of Manu* (X, 22) treats them as Vrātya ["fallen"] Kṣatriya, who did not fully observe the Hindu Dharma. Their government was an oligarchy, the head of which was called a "king." Buddhist writings often mention the luxury of their lives. For example, the Tibetan *Vinaya* (*Dul-ba*) says: "Vaiśālī is divided into three sections. The first has seven thousand houses with golden towers; the second has fourteen thousand houses with silver towers; and the third has twenty-one thousand houses with copper towers. Here people live according to whether they are of the upper, middle, or lower class." The inhabitants thought of their city as heaven on earth. Its head fought with Kings Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu of Magadha. The Tibetan *Vinaya* calls it one of the six greatest cities of the time. The water from its special tank was considered holy and necessary for anointing kings at their coronations. Legend says that at one time Prince Bandhula of the Mallas, who lived at Kusinārā, was deemed responsible for polluting the holy tank; the Licchavis were all killed when they went out to fight him.[218] This was not the end of the Licchavis, however. A seal from the time of Candragupta II (ca. 375–413) of the Gupta dynasty indicates that it was an important area under Gupta domination. The city still existed early in the fifth century, when Fa-hsien visited it. It went into decline, however, between the time of Fa-hsien's and Hsüan-tsang's visits (405 and 637) and its monasteries and temples fell into ruin. It may have been laid waste by the Huns, who invaded northern India in the fifth and sixth centuries after the Gupta dynasty collapsed.

When Hsüan-tsang visited Vaiśālī around 637, all was desolate waste; he had to stay at a small Hīnayāna temple populated only by a few monks. He was shown the site of the Second Council. Today the ruins near Bakhirā, in the northwest corner of the city, are virtually the same as those described by Hsüan-tsang. There were many ponds and swampy areas around Vaiśālī. The pond near Aśoka's column is called Ramakuṇḍ; it is the legendary "Monkey's Pond."[219] According to a story in the Buddhist scriptures, when Sakyamuni, during another visit to Vaiśālī, was walking

along the side of this pond together with his disciples, a monkey came down from a tree and chose the Buddha's bowl, which had been placed together with those of his disciples. The monkey filled it with honey from a beehive in the tree and offered it to the Buddha. The name of the pond is said to derive from the fact that monkeys dug the pond for the Buddha's benefit. It was supposedly situated beside the Gabled Hall in the Great Forest (Mahāvana), where the Buddha spent the rainy-season retreat, but as yet no remains of the hall have been found. The scene of a monkey offering honey appears in one of the reliefs at Sāñcī.[220] The lower section of the relief vividly expresses two scenes: in one, the monkey offers honey to the Buddha,[221] and in the other we see the monkey's joy at the Buddha's acceptance. The method of depiction resembles techniques used in modern drama and cinema. Sakyamuni himself is not shown, but his presence is symbolized by the *bodhi* tree and the platform beneath it.

THE COURTESAN AMBAPĀLĪ

The meeting with Ambapālī (Skt., Āmrapālī, Āmrapālikā) is an episode of great interest. We will look at it mainly through the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. The episode begins: "(11) The Venerable Master, having stayed at Nādika as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Vesālī.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then, the Venerable Master went to Vesālī together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. At Vesālī, the Venerable Master stayed at Ambapālī's grove."[222] Although Gotama had gone to Vesālī, he had no wish to stay in the busy center of the city. Similarly, when he was at Rājagaha he preferred to dwell in a quiet place in the suburbs far from the urban bustle. An ancient verse says that "Sakyamuni stayed in the forest of Vesālī." Our text, however, says specifically that Gotama stayed in a grove belonging to the courtesan Ambapālī. The name Ambapālī means "woman protecting the mango grove" or "[female] mango grower."[223] Although the sutra says that the Buddha "stayed at Ambapālī's grove," wandering ascetics usually stayed at such places without the express permission of the landholder. The concept of ownership then was not as narrow as it is in modern times. Today, not only the immediate vicinity of Vaiśālī but also an area of northern Bihar stretching from Patna to Vaiśālī is covered with mango groves. There is very little undergrowth, which allows for breezes to flow freely through the groves, and there seem to be few poisonous snakes or noxious insects. The groves filter the bright sunlight and make an excellent place

to take a rest. Ambapālī, although a courtesan, was wealthy and lived in a great house; she provided entertainment in the form of singing and dancing for wealthy patrons. She had high social status, comparable to the status of *shirabyōshi* dancers of thirteenth-century Japan and the *hetaerae* of the age of Pericles (ca. 495–429 B.C.E.).

The equivalent passage in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* says: "At that time, the Buddha said to the Venerable Ānanda, 'Let us go to the country of Wei-yeh-li.' And so it happened. The Buddha, having taken pleasure in Chü-li [Koṭi], circled the town and left. . . . He came [to Vaiśālī] and stayed in the *nai-tze* grove of an old prostitute outside the city."[224]

The Chinese characters translated here as "old prostitute" do not necessarily mean old in years, but rather refer to the fact that she had been known to the Buddha (as a lay follower) for many years. The *Yu-hsing-ching* also refers to Ambapālī as a "prostitute"; the original in Sanskrit is *gaṇikā* ("courtesan"). I-ching's translation of the equivalent section in the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, hides her calling and says merely that "she was a woman of the city."[225] This choice of expression has its origin in Chinese ethical attitudes, and there are many other instances where Chinese translations of Buddhist writings obscure the Sanskrit *gaṇikā*.

The Pāli text then says that the Buddha taught the *bhikkhus* about "mindfulness."

> (12) Then Sakyamuni addressed the *bhikkhus*. "*Bhikkhus*, a *bhikkhu* should be mindful and well aware. This is our teaching given to you. How, *bhikkhus*, should a *bhikkhu* be mindful? *Bhikkhus*, here, a *bhikkhu* observes his body as a body, earnestly and well aware.[226] Put away greed and the sorrows of the world. A *bhikkhu* observes his feelings as feelings, earnestly and well aware. Put away greed and the sorrows of the world. A *bhikkhu* observes his mind as mind, earnestly and well aware. Put away greed and the sorrows of the world. A *bhikkhu* observes all objects as objects, earnestly and well aware. Put away greed and the sorrows of the world. It is in this way that a *bhikkhu* is [correctly] mindful.
> (13) "And how, *bhikkhus*, should a *bhikkhu* be well aware? Here, a *bhikkhu*, when going out or returning, is well aware of what he is doing. When looking ahead or back, he is well aware of what he is doing. When bending or stretching out his arm, he is well aware of what he is doing. When taking up his outer robe or his bowl, he is well aware of what he is doing.[227] When eating, drinking, chewing, or tasting his food, he is well aware of what he is doing.[228] When defecating or urinating, he is well aware of what he is doing. In walking, standing, sitting, lying down, waking, or staying silent, he is well aware of what he is doing. That is how, *bhikkhus*, a *bhikkhu* should be well aware. *Bhikkhus*, a *bhikkhu* should in this way be mindful and well aware.[229] This is our teaching given to you."[230]

The expression "our teaching" (*aṃhākaṃ anusāsanī*) indicates that the Buddha did not maintain any personal and special authority as the founder of Buddhism. It was probably later Buddhists who attributed personal authority to him.

Why does this section on being aware appear at this point? Other recensions make the introductory comment that the Buddha, seeing Ambapālī coming, warned the *bhikkhus* not to be captivated by her woman's perfume. This is a very likely reason.

The *suttanta* continues: "(14) The courtesan Ambapālī heard that the Venerable Master had come to Vesālī and was staying at her grove in Vesālī. Thus the courtesan Ambapālī had a number of finely decorated carriages prepared[231] and, riding in one of them, she left Vesālī with her train and went to her park."[232] At that time courtesans of superior rank were quite wealthy and would have owned such parks. An inscription (first to second century B.C.E.) discovered at Mathurā tells of one such wealthy courtesan who made a great donation to a Jain temple there. Ambapālī was not only beautiful and rich in material possessions, but even responsible for much of the prosperity of Vesālī. "Vesālī was rich and thriving, with many residents, a place where people gathered, of great material wealth. It had 7,707 palaces, 7,707 towers, 7,707 pleasure gardens, and 7,707 lotus ponds. The courtesan Ambapālī[233] was there, beautiful, comely, and glorious to behold, like a lotus flower; skilled at dancing, singing, and music; courted, receiving fifty pieces of gold for a night. Because of her, Vesālī prospered even more greatly."[234] Hearing this, and unwilling to admit inferiority to Vesālī, the people of Rājagaha paid the girl Sālavatī, a rival courtesan, "one hundred pieces of gold for a night." It is said that the famous physician Jīvaka was her son. The ability of an urban culture to categorize courtesans by the amount they earned in a night indicates the spread of a money economy and shows how essentially different were urban centers and the culture of rural communities as represented by Vedic ritual. In such an overripe, decadent atmosphere new religions like Buddhism appeared, providing both answers to problems

inherent in such a society and an escape from them. (Athens in the age of Pericles is a comparable Western example.)

Ambapālī is said to have long been a follower of the Buddha. She therefore wanted to go and meet him as quickly as possible.

> (14 [*continued*]) She went as far as she could by carriage, and then stepped down from it, and on foot went to where the Venerable Master was. Drawing near, she greeted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. As she sat, the Venerable Master taught her by means of a lecture on the Dhamma, instructing her, encouraging her, and delighting her. Then the courtesan Ambapālī, instructed, encouraged, and delighted by the teachings of the Dhamma, said to the Venerable Master, "May the Venerable One consent to eating a meal at my house tomorrow, together with his *bhikkhus*." The Venerable Master gave his assent by silence. Then the courtesan Ambapālī, understanding the Venerable Master's assent, rose from her seat, paid her respects to the Venerable Master, turned her right shoulder to him, circled the Venerable Master,[235] and left.[236]

Although the Sanskrit recension says that Āmrapālī "made obeisance so that her head rested upon the feet of the Venerable Master" (X, 16), it is more likely that she would have turned her right shoulder to him and circled him. In a relief at Bhārhut showing the building of the Jetavana monastery (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), Sudatta is depicted as circling the Buddha to show his respect. Laypeople, including Ambapālī, would have done likewise.[237]

Gotama traveled simply, accompanied by only a few *bhikkhus*. The courtesan heard of their arrival before anybody else in the city because they stopped at her grove. Later, word of the Buddha's arrival came to the ears of some Licchavi nobles, which indicates that no previous announcement of it had been made. It is also fairly certain that the Buddha and his companions camped outdoors, a perfectly reasonable assumption, since the nights are dry and warm once the rainy season ends.

According to the Sanskrit text, Gotama Buddha spoke to his disciples here of the need to try to practice good.

> (X, 4) The courtesan Āmrapālī heard that the Venerable Master had arrived in Vaiśālī and was in her mango grove in Vaiśālī,
> (X, 5) The courtesan Āmrapālī applied cosmetics to herself, then, accompanied by her maidservants, climbed aboard a splendid carriage and left Vaiśālī. She wanted to see the Venerable Master and make offerings to the Venerable Master.
> (X, 6) She rode in her carriage as far as the way would allow, and then she stepped down and walked to where the Venerable Master was.
> (X, 7) The Venerable Master was sitting surrounded by several hundred *bhikṣus* when he saw Āmrapālī approaching from afar. Seeing her, he addressed the *bhikṣus:*
> (X, 8) "Endeavor, *bhikṣus,* always to be mindful and well aware. Āmrapālī is coming here.
> (X, 9) "How should a *bhikṣu* strive and practice zealously?
> (X, 10) "Here, a *bhikṣu* gives rise to the determination to put away all the evil he has created already, to put away all that is not good, endeavoring, striving, holding [to his purpose], and making every effort. He gives rise to the determination not to create any evil he has not created already, not to create anything that is not good, endeavoring, striving, holding [to his purpose], and making every effort. He gives rise to the determination to create the good he has not created already, endeavoring, striving, holding [to his purpose], and making every effort. He gives rise to the determination that the good that has been created abides in stability, is further practiced, is not lost, is perfectly satisfying, and is broadened and extended, endeavoring, striving, holding [to his purpose], and making every effort. This is how a *bhikṣu* should strive and practice zealously.
> (X, 11) "And how should a *bhikṣu* be conscious and aware?
> (X, 12) "Here, a *bhikṣu,* when going out or returning, when looking ahead or turning back, when stretching out in front, when holding his outer robe or bowl, when walking, standing, sitting, or lying down, when waking, talking, maintaining silence, sleeping, working, or resting, he must be conscious and aware. This is how a *bhikṣu* should be conscious and aware.
> (X, 13) "How, then, *bhikṣus,* should a *bhikṣu* maintain mindfulness?
> (X, 14) "Here, a *bhikṣu* should put away greed and the sorrows of the world, by internally observing his body as a body, striving zealously, being sufficiently aware, and being ever mindful . . . by externally observing his body as a body . . . by internally and externally observing his body . . . by observing internally the functioning of his feelings, by externally observing the functioning of his feelings . . . by observing internally and externally the functioning of his feelings . . . by internally

observing his mind . . . by externally observing his mind . . . by internally and externally observing his mind . . . by internally observing all things . . . by externally observing all things . . . by internally and externally observing all things, a *bhikṣu* should put away greed and the sorrows of the world, by observing all things, striving zealously, being sufficiently aware, and being ever mindful.

(X, 15) "*Bhikṣus,* strive zealously, be sufficiently aware, and be ever mindful. Āmrapālī is coming here. Thus I have spoken to you."[238]

Here the disciples are being taught to arouse in themselves a will (*chandaṃ janayati*) to seek what is good. Buddhism encourages *bhikṣus* to strive to destroy evil and create good, and respects the will (*chanda*) to do so. After summoning the will, they then make a positive effort (*viriyaṃ ārabhati*).[239]

The teaching, "Be ever mindful. Āmrapālī is coming here," was probably added at a later date after the Saṅgha had expanded considerably. Gotama Buddha would have welcomed Ambapālī as a follower of long standing. The repudiation of women by the Saṅgha of later times was contrary to Gotama's way of thinking.

VISIT BY THE LICCHAVI NOBLES

The Licchavi nobles also decided to go visit Gotama, and a group of them set off. The Licchavis were the most prominent of Vesālī's noble families; their power and wealth were derived from commerce. They were later attacked and destroyed by Ajātasattu of Magadha.[240]

(15) And the Licchavi nobles of Vesālī heard that the Venerable Master had come to Vesālī and was staying at Ambapālī's grove in Vesālī. Then the Licchavi nobles had a number of finely decorated carriages prepared, and riding in them they left Vesālī. Some of the Licchavi nobles were deep blue, deep blue in color, and wore clothes of deep blue and ornaments of deep blue. Some of the Licchavi nobles were yellow, yellow in color, and wore clothes of yellow and ornaments of yellow. Some of the Licchavi nobles were ruddy, red in color, and wore clothes of red and ornaments of red. Some of the Licchavi nobles were white, white in color, and wore clothes of white and ornaments of white.[241]

The varieties of the Licchavi nobles' skin color, accessories, and clothes

point to the mixing of different races of people in the mercantile city of Vesālī.

They encountered Ambapālī on the way:

(16) At that time the courtesan Ambapālī collided with the young Licchavi nobles, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke. Then the Licchavis said to the courtesan Ambapālī, "Hey, there,[242] Ambapālī, why have you collided with the young Licchavi nobles, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke?" "Noble sirs, I have invited the Venerable Master, together with his *bhikkhus,* to eat a meal at my house tomorrow." "Ambapālī, we will give you one hundred thousand pieces of gold if you will allow us to make an offering of a meal tomorrow in your stead." "Noble sirs, you could offer me the city of Vesālī and all its territory, and yet I still would not give up to you the offering of a meal."[243] Then the Licchavis snapped their fingers and said, "Ah, we have been beaten by this woman![244] Ah, we have been outwitted by a woman! And they went to Ambapālī's grove."[245]

The collision of carriages is a surprisingly violent incident. Could it have been a deliberate ruse to prevent the Licchavi nobles from going any farther? The *Yu-hsing-ching*'s version of the same incident is as follows:[246]

At that time the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, hearing that the Buddha was staying at Āmrapālī's park, had their jeweled carriages prepared, decked in the five colors.[247] Some rode in blue carriages pulled by blue horses, and their coverings, canopies, banners, and retinues were all blue.[248] The carriages and horses of the other of the five colors were all similarly adorned. The colors of the robes the five hundred Licchavis wore were the same. They all wanted to go and visit the Buddha. As Āmrapālī was returning to her home after taking leave of the Buddha, she met the Licchavis on the way. At that time the horse pulling her carriage was galloping swiftly, and she collided with their jeweled carriages and damaged the banners and canopies, and furthermore blocked the road.[249] The Licchavis reproached her, saying, "What has made you block the way like this? You have collided with our jeweled carriages and damaged the banners and canopies." She replied, "Noble sirs, I am returning home to make preparations for a meal, for I have invited the Buddha tomorrow.[250] For this reason I was returning swiftly in my carriage, and my blocking you is inexcusable." The Licchavis again said

to her, "Put aside for a time your invitation, and let us offer it instead. We will give you one hundred thousand pieces of gold [to do so]."[251] She replied in turn, "I have already issued the invitation and I will make no alteration. I do not want what you offer." Then the Licchavis said to the woman again, "We will give you sixteen times one hundred thousand pieces of gold. Let us extend the first invitation." Again she refused. "I have already issued the invitation and I cannot make a change in it." Then the Licchavis again said to the woman, "We will give you half the country's wealth.[252] Let us extend the first invitation." Again she replied, "Even were you to offer me all the wealth of the country, I would not take it. The Buddha is staying in my park and he has accepted my invitation first. The matter is finished." Unable to offer the first invitation, the Licchavis snapped their fingers in despair,[253] and said, "Because of that woman we have missed the initial merit." Then they went on until they arrived at [her] park.

The young Licchavi nobles offered Ambapālī a vast amount of money, seeking to purchase the rights to the meeting with the Buddha, which she had already acquired. Despite her profession, she did not waver in her determination. The episode about the collision of the carriages and the attempt by the Licchavis to buy the invitation from Ambapālī occurs only in the Pāli recension and in the *Yu-hsing-ching;* it does not appear in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Sarvāstivādin recensions. The fact that it does not appear in these later texts suggests that the compilers deliberately omitted it, probably because they did not wish to reveal infighting among Buddhists or potential Buddhists. (Unlike the story of Devadatta, the episode at Vesālī could serve no purpose in promoting a cooperative spirit among Buddhists.) No doubt some such event actually did occur.

Let us examine the social and historical significance of the episode. Ambapālī, elated and triumphant, made no attempt to apologize to the young nobles. Yet making an enemy of them could be expected to jeopardize her business. Her attitude arose from the following considerations:

1. The young nobles were members of the Vesālī aristocracy, representatives of the establishment.

2. Ambapālī's dealings were chiefly with the new merchant class (*gahapati, vaṇijja*), so friction with the nobles would have been of little concern to her.

3. Gotama was welcomed both by members of the establishment and by the merchant class. Vesālī had no caste system, for the merchants were against it.

The Licchavis went out to meet the Buddha in a splendid procession: "(17) The Venerable Master saw the Licchavis coming from afar. Seeing them, he announced to the *bhikkhus,* '*Bhikkhus,* those of you who have not yet seen the thirty-three deities should look now.[254] Look well, *bhikkhus,* at the Licchavis.[255] Compare,[256] *bhikkhus,* the Licchavis with the deities of the thirty-three heavens.'"[257] The Licchavis disappear from history for approximately eight hundred years, from 500 B.C.E. to 300 C.E. Their name reappears in the time of Candragupta I (r. ca. 320–ca. 330), founder of the Gupta dynasty. His wife was a Licchavi princess. His successor, the powerful Samudragupta (r. ca. 330–75), repeatedly called himself "son of the Licchavi princess," so proud of his mother's ancestry was he. Inscriptions reveal that such a sentiment was shared and repeated by later emperors of the Gupta dynasty, who all claimed descent from female Licchavis. This was a unique phenomenon.

The Licchavis probably submitted to Kushan power, but with the decline of that dynasty regained their independence and took control of Pāṭaliputra. During the reign of Candragupta II they apparently extended their power over Vaiśālī, and later into Nepal as well. The question remains, however, whether the Licchavis of this time were the same people as those who ruled Vesālī at the time of the Buddha. We have already seen that the Vajjis conducted affairs by means of assemblies and governed along republican lines.[258] The Licchavi republic was not simply an aristocracy, but had many elements of a democracy. Early Buddhist writings report that government was conducted by 7,707 descendants of Licchavi royalty who lived in Vesālī.[259] Of course, the number may be an exaggeration; nevertheless, it is very likely that government was relatively broad based. Members of the Vesālī royal family were required to receive consecration by water from a special holy pond to qualify to take part in government affairs. This ritual was equivalent to the king's consecration, and it is not clear whether people were consecrated simultaneously or consecutively, but it is likely that a son received consecration after his father's death.[260]

Until a rather late period the Licchavis of Vesālī totally rejected any social order based on class, and we can even discern their strong reaction against time-honored social customs. According to the biographies of the Buddha, Śākyamuni dwelt in the Tuṣita heaven as a bodhisattva before descending to this world. While there he conducted a careful survey to decide where and in what circumstances he should be born. The deities of that heaven made the following comments:

A very few deities said, "This great city [*mahānagarī*] of Vaiśālī is rich, prosperous, and peaceful; [the people] give alms kindly, they are pleasant of aspect and numerous. [The city] is adorned with balconies, gates, arches, windows, dwellings, terraces, palaces, and flat-roofed houses; flowers bloom in the parks and the rows of trees in the woods are luxuriant. It is as splendid as a city of the deities. Therefore it is eminently suitable as the place of the bodhisattva's birth." However, the other deities said, "There is a reason why it is unsuitable. What is it? The people [of Vaiśālī] do not speak together of the true Dharma. They do not practice the Dharma, and they do not protect those of high rank, those of middle rank, the aged, and their seniors. Each person thinks of himself as the ruler. Such people do not become disciples or maintain the Dharma [the transmission of the Vedas?]. Therefore Vaiśālī is not suitable."[261]

The Sanskrit recension describes clearly the procession of the young nobles when they went to see the Buddha:

(XI, 1) [At that time] the Licchavis who lived in Vaiśālī heard, "The World-honored One has arrived in Vaiśālī after walking through the villages of the Vṛjis, and is in the grove of Āmrapālī."
(XI, 2) Then, the Licchavis rode, each in a fine carriage, and went out of Vaiśālī.
(XI, 3) Some of them rode in blue carriages, pulled by blue horses, with blue bridles and whips, wearing blue hats,[262] carrying blue parasols, wearing blue scabbards, carrying blue fly-whisks whose hilts were inlaid with jewels, wearing blue robes and blue makeup, employing blue paint, and accompanied by blue attendants.[263]
(XI, 4) Some of them rode in yellow carriages, pulled by yellow horses, with yellow bridles and whips, wearing yellow hats, carrying yellow parasols, wearing yellow scabbards, carrying yellow fly-whisks whose hilts were inlaid with jewels, wearing yellow robes and yellow makeup, employing yellow paint, and accompanied by yellow attendants.
(XI, 5) Some of them rode in red carriages, pulled by red horses, with red bridles and whips, wearing red hats, carrying red parasols, wearing red scabbards, carrying red fly-whisks whose hilts were inlaid with jewels, wearing red robes and red makeup, employing red paint, and accompanied by red attendants.
(XI, 6) Some of them rode in white carriages, pulled by white horses, with white bridles and whips, wearing white hats, carrying white parasols, wearing white scabbards, carrying white fly-whisks whose hilts were inlaid with jewels, wearing white robes and white makeup, employing white paint, and accompanied by white attendants.
(XI, 7) The people of Vaiśālī, calling out in high voices, making a great stir and commotion, and calling out in loud voices, making a great stir and commotion, left [the city] and approached the place where the Venerable Master was, for they wished to meet the Venerable Master and make him offerings.
(XI, 8) The Venerable Master, seeing the Licchavis of Vaiśālī coming from afar, announced to the *bhikṣus*,
(XI, 9) "*Bhikṣus*,[264] if there are any of you who have not seen the deities of the thirty-three heavens approaching the park, look at the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Why is this, *bhikṣus*? The thirty-three deities themselves could not have been more splendid and richly arrayed living in the Nandana Grove[265] than the Licchavis of Vaiśālī."[266]

The Sanskrit recension and the Chinese translations portray vividly the vigor of Vaiśālī and compare the splendor of its nobility with that of the deities themselves. A few Western scholars have interpreted the various colors of implements and entourages as indicating caste distinctions, since in Brahmanism the souls of people of different castes were believed to be of different colors. I cannot agree, since no caste distinctions existed in republican Vaiśālī. There may have been distinctions based on rank and wealth, but there were none deriving from caste. In fact, Brahmanical works concerning caste do not even mention Vaiśālī. In the Buddha's time, Vaiśālī was an international city where inhabitants of various races used tools of different colors. Both the Vajjis and the Mallas had republican forms of government headed by their respective aristocracies. Compared with other regions of India, the city was liberal, unfettered by Brahmanic tradition. The descriptions in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* reflect this atmosphere.

I would like to add a few words here about the turban. A relief from Bhārhut (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) of the building of the Jetavana monastery shows Indians wearing turbans, indicating that the custom had developed by the time the relief was carved. From the time of the *Atharva-Veda*, Sanskrit appears to have used the word *uṣṇīṣa* for "turban," though what it referred to is not at all clear. The Chinese translators had no idea what a turban was, and so translated the word as

"hat."[267] In addition, the *uṣṇīṣa* is one of the thirty-two distinguishing marks of a buddha, and refers to a protuberance on the top of the head. Linguistically this can be interpreted as a transformation of the meaning of the word for "turban."

DISCOURSE TO THE LICCHAVI NOBLES

The Licchavis rode in their carriages to the place where the Buddha was staying and received his teaching.

> (18) And the young Licchavis went as far as they could by carriage, and then stepped down from their carriages and, on foot, went to where the Venerable Master was. Drawing near, they greeted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. The Venerable Master taught the Licchavis, sitting to one side, by means of a lecture on the Dhamma, instructing them, encouraging them, and delighting them. Then the Licchavis, instructed, encouraged, and delighted by the teachings of the Dhamma, said to the Venerable Master, "May the Venerable One consent to eating a meal at our house tomorrow."[268] The Venerable Master told them, "I have already, Licchavis, accepted an invitation from the courtesan Ambapālī to eat at her house tomorrow." Then the Licchavis snapped their fingers and said, "Ah, we have been beaten by a woman! Ah, we have been outwitted by a woman!" Then the Licchavis, having delighted in and felt gratitude for the Venerable Master's instruction, rose from their seats, paid their respects to the Venerable Master, circled around him to the right, and left.[269]

In virtually the same words as the Pāli text, the Sanskrit recension (p. 184) says that the Buddha instructed the Licchavis. The *Yu-hsing-ching* describes the discourse in detail.

The episode shows that the Buddha followed current social norms in honoring the first invitation. The custom of circling the master to the right three times as a sign of respect was also practiced in Jainism; a believer "circled [Mahāvīra] three times to the right, greeting him, showing him respect . . . , honoring him" (*Uvāsagadasāo*, I, 10).

AMBAPĀLĪ'S INVITATION

> (19) And Ambapālī, having prepared during the night at her home fine-tasting food [hard food] and soups [soft food], had it announced to the Venerable Master, "It is time, Venerable One. Your meal is ready." In the early morning, the Venerable Master put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and alms-bowl and went, together with his *bhikkhus*, to the house of the courtesan Ambapālī. When he arrived, he sat down in the place prepared for him. Then the courtesan Ambapālī approached the place where the Venerable Master was sitting, at the head of his following of *bhikkhus*, and with her own hands served delicious food, both hard and soft, to the Venerable Master until he had had his fill. When [she saw] that the Venerable Master had finished and had washed his bowl and his hands, she took out a stool and sat down to one side.[270] The courtesan Ambapālī, seated to one side, said to the Venerable Master, "Venerable One, I would like to donate my park to the *bhikkhus* and the Buddha at their head." The Venerable Master accepted the park. Then the Venerable Master, having taught, instructed, encouraged, and delighted her by religious discourse about the Dhamma, rose from his seat and departed.[271]

Since the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin texts do not mention that Ambapālī donated her park to Sakyamuni, we can assume that this incident was added later. Such a donation could be accepted for building a house or for financial gain, but the early Buddhists had no thought of such things, as the *Suttanipāta* and the *Theragāthā* make clear. The legend just quoted represents the ideas of *bhikkhus* in later times who wished to own land.

The *suttanta* continues: "(20) Next the Venerable Master, while staying at Ambapālī's grove in Vesālī, gave a large number of discourses about the Dhamma. 'Such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration perfected with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely liberated from all stain—the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance.'"[272] It is not clear whether the Buddha gave a special discourse for the sake of Ambapālī.[273] The description here follows the standard abbreviated form.[274] The *Yu-hsing-ching*, however, says that Āmrapālī received the three refuges and the five precepts at this time: "[Āmrapālī] gradually drew near to where the Buddha was and, having prostrated herself at his feet, withdrew to one side. At that time the World-honored One spoke in a graduated fashion [at first simply, and gradually more profoundly], instructing

and benefiting her. Hearing the Buddha's discourse, she felt great delight and said to the Buddha, 'From this day forth I take refuge in the three objects of veneration. I beg of you to listen and grant my plea. I will become an *upāsikā* within the True Dharma, and for as long as I live, I will not kill, steal, have illicit sexual relations, tell lies, or take intoxicants.'"[275] There is a great contradiction in this passage. A courtesan, by the very nature of her work, cannot follow the precept about sexual relations; to do so she would have to give up her calling. Similarly, it would be very hard for a courtesan not to drink intoxicants. This section is undoubtedly a later addition. The words were applied to Ambapālī's situation at some subsequent time, after the form of the five precepts had become fixed. It is highly unlikely that Ambapālī followed the five precepts, although she had taken refuge in the Buddha. This means that it is possible for someone to be a Buddhist without necessarily keeping the lay precepts; a woman like Ambapālī, working as a prostitute or something similar, could still accept the Buddhist faith. In addition to the five precepts, Buddhism gives directions for leading one's life, encouraging Buddhists to act for others and to create good.

Whereas the Pāli and Sanskrit texts call Ambapālī a courtesan (*gaṇikā*), the *Yu-hsing-ching* calls her a prostitute[276] and the *P'i-nai-yeh yao-shih* (fasc. 6 and 7) refers to her merely as a married woman (*fu-jen*).[277] Traditional Chinese (or Confucian) morality made the translators loath to translate *gaṇikā* directly. The Tibetan translation exhibits similar inhibitions; it calls her the "woman who protects the mango [grove] (*amra-skyoṅ ma*)."

It is said that in later years Ambapālī realized the emptiness of beauty and became ordained. Her acknowledgment of this fact can be seen in a number of verses in the *Therīgāthā* (252–70).

The first half of the above-mentioned passage in the *Yu-hsing-ching* gives a detailed explanation of the "five jewels."[278] Such an explanation does not appear anywhere in the Pāli text. The jewels are: 1) the Tathāgata; 2) one who expounds the Tathāgata's teachings; 3) one who has faith in and understanding of the Tathāgata's teachings; 4) one who practices and perfects the Dharma that the Tathāgata teaches; and 5) one who repays the Tathāgata by bringing others to liberation. It is of interest that the idea of repaying a debt appears here. The second half of the same passage encourages lay believers to make donations to the Saṅgha. These verses, which suggest "erecting stupas and building monasteries," are likewise missing from the Pāli text and were thus a later accretion.

It is highly significant that Gotama converted Ambapālī: His teaching

was the same, whether directed at a king or a courtesan. The content may have differed depending on the listener, but the essence never varied, for Gotama's purpose was to ease the suffering of all people. Gotama taught everyone; he did not select certain people. Moreover, he did not force his teachings on others. If people came to him seeking relief from suffering, he would teach; his preaching arose from particular occasions and causes. This attitude remained a basic characteristic of Buddhism in later times.

Ambapālī had greater wealth than most and even possessed land. A courtesan could amass such wealth only in a developed money economy. It is clear that at that time and place a few courtesans had high social status. Nevertheless, as an individual Ambapālī was troubled spiritually and therefore came to seek the advice of the Buddha. Ambapālī and the Buddha were acquaintances for only two days. For the courtesan, however, those two days had a decisive meaning in her life, as her verses in the *Therīgāthā* make obvious.

Ambapālī's taking refuge in the Buddha was given a romantic touch by later Buddhist artists and craftsmen. A second-century relief from the Sikri Stūpa (now in the Lahore Museum) shows Ambapālī donating the mango grove to the Buddha.[279] Mango leaves and blossoms form a canopy over the Buddha's head, and standing on either side of him are a woman holding a water flask and a woman holding a robe, both representing Ambapālī. The figure beyond the woman on the left is a beardless Vajradhara, and the two figures in the upper left, with the palms of their hands together, are apparently deities making offerings.[280]

8. Falling Ill on the Journey

Looking Over the Whole of Life

THE RAINY-SEASON RETREAT AT BELUVA

Next[1] Gotama Buddha went to stay at Beluva ("the village of the bamboo grove"):[2] "(21) The Venerable Master, having stayed at Ambapālī's grove as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Beluva.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then, the Venerable Master went to Beluva together with a large company of *bhikkhus*, and there stayed in the village of Beluva."[3] While he was there the rainy season approached. He called the *bhikkhus* together and said to them: "(22) 'Now, *bhikkhus*, you should enter your fixed lodgings for the rainy season, wherever you have friends, or acquaintances, or close friends. I shall remain here at Beluva village for the rainy season.'"[4] The sutra then relates that arrangements were made accordingly, and the *bhikkhus* and the Buddha settled down for the rainy season.

The practice of entering a fixed lodging for the rainy season (Pāli, *vassaṃ upagacchati;* Skt., *varṣām upagacchati*) has been a long-standing custom among all religious practitioners in India, irrespective of sect or school. During the rainy season, which lasts from mid-May to mid-September, wandering ascetics stay in a particular dwelling, and do not journey or leave their lodgings. Epidemics can rage in the rainy season and noxious insects are rife. Religious practitioners have to take care not to tread on and kill insects. The Buddhist Saṅgha adopted the practice of the rainy-season retreat, and remained inside neighboring dwellings, or later, mon-

asteries, for a period of three months beginning on the day following the full moon of the fourth month in the Indian calendar, undergoing religious training and meditation. This retreat was known in Sanskrit as *vārṣika*. The Buddhist Saṅghas in Sri Lanka, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, and Cambodia continue to preserve this period as a time of religious practice. (In Burma, it usually runs from July 15 to October 25, following the Western calendar.)

We know from the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* that the Buddha stayed at Beluva; the only other person specifically mentioned is his attendant Ānanda. A careful reading of the various texts indicates that only the Buddha and Ānanda spent the rainy season together in the same dwelling. This is undoubtedly historical fact. It is probably equally true that the Buddha was never accompanied by more than a small number of disciples, even at other times. Here we can discern the true historical figure of the Buddha, before later ages deified him.

The fact that the Buddha and his followers spent the rainy season at different places argues that there were no permanent temples or monasteries nearby where a large number of practitioners could live together until the end of the rains. Another reason for the dispersion was the difficulty of gaining an ample supply of food. The *Yu-hsing-ching* records that at this time there was famine in the area around Beluva, and so it was hard for the *bhikkhus* to live by begging food as alms. The Pāli text does not state this clearly, but it can be inferred from the context.

Gotama received invitations from Brahmins while in Beluva, and was presented with offerings at their houses. It is clear, therefore, that he harbored no feelings of animosity toward the Brahmins.

FALLING ILL

While in Beluva, Gotama became very ill: "(23) When the Venerable Master had taken up residence for the rainy season, he suffered a severe illness, with such pain that he thought he would die. However, the Venerable Master bore the pain mindfully and with great awareness, and voiced no complaint."[5] The Buddha was able to bear his pain by entering meditation (*dhyāna*); eventually he recovered. The sutra places great importance on this event and gives a reason for it:

> (23 [*continued*]) At that time, the Venerable Master thought, "It is not becoming for me to enter *nibbāna* without addressing my attendants and taking farewell of the *bhikkhus*.[6] I must exert energy to control the illness and retain my life-force."[7] Then the Venerable Master exerted energy to control his illness and retained his life-force. Thereupon the Venerable Master's illness abated.
>
> (24) Then the Venerable Master recovered from his illness. Soon after he had recovered from his illness, he went out of his dwelling and sat down on a seat prepared for him in the shadow of the dwelling. Then the young Ānanda approached where the Venerable Master was sitting. Having approached, he greeted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. Having sat down to one side, the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master, "Revered One, I have seen the Venerable Master in comfort, and I have seen the Venerable Master becoming healthy again.[8] My body stiffened a little.[9] [Astounded,] I lost all sense of direction. The various teachings were not clear to me.[10] This was because of the Venerable Master's illness. [Now,] however, I am able to find peace of mind, because the Venerable Master will not enter *nibbāna* without relating some teaching[11] to the *bhikkhus*."[12]

Though his illness had temporarily abated, the Buddha knew that the end of his life was approaching. Ānanda was relieved that the Buddha had recovered, but the Buddha himself said that he was already an old man and could not escape death. Therefore he spoke of human fate. Ānanda drew near and begged him to give his final discourse. The Buddha's words were poignant.

> (25) "Ānanda, what do the *bhikkhus* expect of me? I have taught the Dhamma without any distinction between exoteric and esoteric teachings. In my teachings to all people no master's fist[13] exists, attempting to hide something from the disciples. Only one who thinks, 'I will take charge of the band of *bhikkhus*,' or 'The band of *bhikkhus* will depend on me,' says something about the band of *bhikkhus*.[14] The Tathāgata, however, does not think, 'I will take charge of the band of *bhikkhus*,' or 'The band of *bhikkhus* will depend on me.'[15] How then can the Tathāgata say anything about the band of *bhikkhus*? Ānanda, I am now old, my body is decayed, I am old and wasting away with age. I have traversed life's journey and reached the end of my time. I am already eighty. As an old cart will move only if strapped up, my body is kept going by being strapped up.[16] It is only when the Tathāgata does not dwell in his mind upon his outward characteristics, when he causes the cessation

of certain feelings, and when he enters into the concentration of mind that has no outward characteristics, that his body is sound [comfortable].[17]

(26) "Therefore in this world you should be islands unto yourselves, your own refuge, depending upon no one else, with the Dhamma as an island and the Dhamma as a refuge, depending on nothing else."[18]

The above words are famous as constituting one of the Buddha's last discourses. Their content is also extremely important; let us scrutinize the ideas that lay behind them.

First, the Buddha declares that he has revealed the Truth, which holds for all people. "I have taught the Dhamma without any distinction between exoteric and esoteric teachings. In my teachings to all people no master's fist exists, attempting to hide something from the disciples." It was common for master craftsmen and teachers to hide the inner secrets of their callings from their followers. This practice was termed the "master's fist." Gotama Buddha, however, does not possess such secret teachings, though the Upaniṣads relate that the esoteric teachings should be transmitted by a master only to his own eldest son or trusted disciple. According to the Buddha, the Truth is the possession of all people; he brushes away any suggestion of discrimination according to caste or other differences between people. By the same token, the Truth is not the possession of a particular master, transmittable by him alone. Buddhaghosa comments: "[Outside Buddhism] people are governed by the 'master's fist.' When he is young, [the master] does not speak to anybody, and later, when he is on his deathbed, he speaks only to a favorite disciple. The Tathāgata did not speak in this way, making a master's fist and saying, 'I will speak of this at a later opportunity, when I am old,' and did not leave anything unsaid."[19] Though the Brahmins transmitted their knowledge secretly to their disciples, Buddhism contains no such secrets. Thus the Buddha said: "Only one who thinks, 'I will take charge of the band of *bhikkhus*,' or 'The band of *bhikkhus* will depend on me,' says something about the band of *bhikkhus*. The Tathāgata, however, does not think, 'I will take charge of the band of *bhikkhus*,' or 'The band of *bhikkhus* will depend on me.'"

Gotama Buddha himself denied that he was the leader of the Buddhist order—each person must rather be his or her own refuge, must depend on the universal Dhamma. Shinran's statement that he had not a single disciple displays a direct link with these teachings of the Buddha and has the same strong ethical connotation. Because Gotama did not claim to be the leader of the order, he could not spell out for his followers what should happen later. "Ānanda, what do the *bhikkhus* expect of me? . . . How then can the Tathāgata say anything about the band of *bhikkhus*?" There was no need for the band of followers to believe that the order depended on the Buddha. He thought that what was needed there was for him to leave teachings about the order. He who had discovered the Truth taught it completely, holding back nothing. All that was necessary was to practice and meditate upon the Truth and to disseminate it broadly. It was also not right to grieve about one's death; for all, being born means that death lies ahead, without exception. The law of impermanence is absolute. What will die, says the Buddha, is my own body, now old and frail. True life is the Dhamma I have discovered and taught. If people understand it and practice it, I will live within it, and my life will be eternal.

Then the Buddha made a surprising statement, saying that although he was old and weak, "his body is sound." A sound body is considered necessary for tranquillity of mind. Therefore an old man, though frail, can still seek a sound body. "Ānanda, I am now old, my body is decayed, I am old and wasting away with age. I have traversed life's journey and reached the end of my time. I am already eighty. As an old cart will move only if strapped up, my body is kept going by being strapped up." These words may sound like the feeble complaints of an old man, but they are not. The words contain strong resolution.

The eighty-year-old ascetic was undertaking his journey tranquilly, apparently with the knowledge that his death was not far off. His body was as shaky as an old cart. However, as long as his mind was unaffected he was able to make wise decisions. If the mind controls the body, the body itself is sound. This truth the Buddha declared triumphantly: "It is only when the Tathāgata does not dwell in his mind upon his outward characteristics, when he causes the cessation of certain feelings, and when he enters into the concentration of mind that has no outward characteristics, that his body is sound [comfortable]." What precisely did he have to do to attain this state of mind? And later, after his death, upon what were his followers advised to rely? In answer to these questions, the Buddha taught that the *bhikkhus* were to rely on themselves and on the Dhamma: "Therefore in this world you should be islands unto yourselves, your own refuge, depending upon no one else, with the Dhamma as an island and

the Dhamma as a refuge, depending on nothing else [*Tasmāt ih' Ānanda atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā*]." I have long pondered the best way to translate *anañña-saraṇā*. Should it be translated "Do not depend on other [people]" or "Do not depend on other [things]"?[20] To translate *añña* directly, as "other," would not incur criticism from scholars, but it remains ambiguous, failing to indicate what "other" refers to. Thus I have translated *añña* with the sense of "other people" ("no one else") in contrast to *attan* ("self"), and as "other things" ("nothing else") in contrast to *dhamma*. The contrast of self and others corresponds to human relations, while that of the Dhamma and other things corresponds to objective matters.

Gotama Buddha sought to attain a state in which the mind was tranquil and stable, able to consider things calmly and deeply, and unperturbed by delusion. Thus he could say, with great composure: "Be a refuge unto yourselves, for I will pass away."[21]

Final decisions come from the self, from no one else; the self must take responsibility for all things. We should not rely on others. We must consider the customs of the past and the opinions of others when making a decision, but the decision itself can only be our own. We cannot blame others for our own mistakes. Though the self must rely upon the self, this is no excuse for indulging in selfish behavior. Decisions must be based on human reason and Law, called Dharma in India, and Law (*fa*) or Way (*tao*) in the Chinese translations of Buddhist writings. If one's decisions are based on this Law, then no attention needs to be paid to the dissenting opinions of others. One will have the courage to abide by one's own decisions. Therefore to depend on the self means at the same time to depend on the Dharma.

The expression "island" in the text is perhaps better translated as "sandbar." During great floods in India, the land is covered by a sheet of water as far as the eye can see. Scattered here and there in the water are sandbars, sections of land that have not been entirely submerged and which provide refuge for people. The Buddha's words draw on this image. The Law (*dhamma*) acts as a sandbar (*dīpa*) does in times of flood, a place of refuge. Jain writings also contain the same image; a discourse of Mahāvīra in the *Āyārāṅga-sūtra* says: "But can discontent lay hold of a mendicant who has ceased to act and leads a religious life, for a long time controlling himself? He advances in his spiritual career and exerts himself. As an island [*dīva* = *dīpa*] which is never covered with water, so is the law taught by the noble ones [a safe refuge for those in danger]."[22] From this fact we can ascertain the following:

1. This teaching of Gotama Buddha employs elements of the teachings of Jainism and of other contemporary religious leaders.
2. The *dīpa* of *dhamma-dīpa* means "shoal," "sandbar," or "island" (*dvīpa*), not "lamp." The teaching to depend on oneself, being so broad and deep, can be interpreted in many different ways. I believe that the intention of the writer of the sutra was to say: "Reflect on the attitude of your own mind. By doing so it becomes possible to depend on yourself."

The Buddha continued:

> (26 [*continued*]) "And how does a *bhikkhu* be an island unto himself, his own refuge, depending on no one else, with the Dhamma as an island and the Dhamma as a refuge, depending on nothing else? Here, Ānanda, a *bhikkhu* contemplates the body as body, attentively, aware, mindful, having done away with all worldly greed and distress.[23] He contemplates the feelings as feelings, attentively, aware, mindful, having done away with all worldly greed and distress. He contemplates the mind as mind, attentively, aware, mindful, having done away with all worldly greed and distress. He contemplates the various objects of mind as objects of mind, attentively, aware, mindful, having done away with all worldly greed and distress."

Here, in the contemplation of body, feelings, mind, and the objects of mind, we find the terminology of later Abhidharma scholarship. Since this section does not appear in all the recensions, we can assume that it is a later accretion.

Gotama's discourse then concludes: "(26 [*continued*]) 'In this way, Ānanda, a *bhikkhu* is an island unto himself, his own refuge, depending on no one else, with the Dhamma as an island and the Dhamma as a refuge, depending on nothing else. And any person, Ānanda, at this time or at the time after my death, who is an island unto himself, his own refuge, depending on no one else, with the Dhamma as an island and the Dhamma as a refuge, depending on nothing else, he will attain the highest stage as my *bhikkhu*, anyone who desires to learn.'"[24] A *bhikkhu* should not depend on any external thing whatsoever. He must make the self (*attā*) and the eternal Law his refuge.

We find in this passage the expression "attain the highest stage" (*tamatagge bhavissanti*); the expression "to attain *nibbāna*" is not used. (The

title *Mahāparinibbāna* was given to this sutra in later times.) There is certainly no sign of the later philosophical concepts of nirvana with residue and nirvana without residue.

Decision to Enter Nibbāna

Vesālī was a place where Gotama had often stayed during his long wandering life; the city probably held many memories for him. He set off for the cool shade of the sacred tree (*cetiya*) of Vesālī:[25] "(1) Then the Venerable Master, in the early morning, put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and bowl, and entered Vesālī to seek alms.[26] He walked around Vesālī seeking alms, and when he had returned from his alms round, and had eaten his food, he said to the young Ānanda, 'Ānanda, bring a mat.[27] We will go to the sacred tree of Cāpāla for the midday rest.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda, and taking up a mat he followed the Venerable Master.[28] (2) Then the Venerable Master came to the sacred tree of Cāpāla."[29]

The Buddha took his rest beneath the great tree known as Cāpāla. In this action we find the habits of wandering ascetics perfectly reflected. Sakyamuni lived his life no differently.

The *suttanta* continues: "(2 [*continued*]) Arriving [at the foot of the sacred tree of Cāpāla, Gotama Buddha] sat down in the seat prepared for him. The young Ānanda saluted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. Then the Buddha said, 'Ānanda, Vesālī is delightful. The sacred tree of Udena is delightful. The sacred tree of Gotamaka is delightful. The sacred tree of Sattambaka is delightful. The sacred tree of Bahuputta is delightful. The sacred tree of Sārandada is delightful. The sacred tree of Cāpāla is delightful.'"[30] The Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin recensions have almost the same text. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* adds, "This realm, the sixteen great countries, and all their capitals and towns, are delightful." The other Chinese translations do not contain this passage at all, so it may be a later addition. The Sanskrit text contains this moving passage: "'Vaiśālī, the land of the Vṛjis, is delightful. The sacred tree of Cāpāla is delightful. The sacred tree of Sattambaka is delightful. The sacred tree of the luxuriant leaves is delightful. The banyan tree called Gautama is delightful. The grove of *śāla* trees is delightful. The sacred tree called "the place where the Mallas dropped their burden" is delightful. The sacred tree called "the bank of the Monkey's Pond," is delightful. The world is a delightful place. Human life is sweet and beautiful.'"[31]

Because he was approaching eighty years of age, Gotama Buddha had left Rājagaha, capital of Magadha, the greatest country of the time, and had set out for his birthplace. With no form of transport but his own legs, he had taken on a demanding endeavor. In the course of what was to be his final journey, he arrived at the thriving commercial city of Vesālī and there spoke of his longing for certain places. The Vṛjis mentioned in the Sanskrit text were the ruling nobility of Vaiśālī (Pāli, Vesālī). The city had a number of sacred trees; at the foot of each was a small shrine honoring one deity or another. Since the midday sun is fierce in India, religious ascetics would take their rest beneath such sacred trees. Though vegetation does not grow thick on the outer reaches of the Ganges, large, broad-leaved trees like banyans grow here and there. Beneath their spreading branches it is very cool. Gotama therefore remembered with great fondness the various sacred trees beneath which he had rested. The concluding sentence of the Sanskrit text, "The world is a delightful place. Human life is sweet and beautiful"[32] uses the word *madhura* (translated here as "sweet and beautiful"), which means "as sweet as honey," or "sweet to the taste." The corresponding Chinese text reads: "The lands of the world [Jambudvīpa] look as though they were painted in the five colors, and for a human being to be born and live in this world is delightful."[33] (Occasionally we find the expression translated into Chinese as "very delightful"[34] or "extremely lovely and delightful."[35])

When death approaches, people inevitably regret the imminent parting with the world they have known and are moved by the world's beauty and the kindness they have received from people. Buddhists of ancient India recognized such an emotion in these words of Gotama Buddha the man. Scholars of later times, however, thought that such sentiments were not those of an enlightened person. Nevertheless, is it not desirable that a person approaching death should feel joy about the place where he was born, gratitude to the people with whom he had come into contact, and the knowledge that his own life was spent happily?

Buddhism is known for its teaching that all things are characterized by suffering, that human life is filled with suffering. Thus to think of life as having deep significance seems a contradiction. Resolving this inconsistency is somewhat difficult. Perhaps we can say that though the Buddha's point of departure was an emphasis on suffering, decades of careful con-

sideration and reflection had led him to realize that human life was significant after all, and could hold delight.

Māra's Temptation

When Gotama Buddha was resting under the sacred tree of Cāpāla in Vesālī, Māra appeared and encouraged him to enter *nibbāna;* Gotama agreed.[36] All recensions have long sections describing this event, and Fa-hsien's *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* in fact begins here. People of later times who were deeply attached to the memory of the Buddha doubtless felt that such a great and superhuman being should be able to live eternally and not face death like an ordinary person. If he had to die, there must have been a reason. Therefore he was believed to have made, of his own accord, the decision to enter *nibbāna.* This episode became a central theme in the sutra recounting the "Great Death," and that is why Fa-hsien's text begins with this incident.

It was at this point that Sakyamuni gave Ānanda the suggestion to beg him to remain forever in this world. Ānanda, though, his mind possessed by Māra, did not beg his master to do so. Thus Sakyamuni decided of his own will to abandon the life remaining to him, and promised Māra that three months hence he would enter *nibbāna.*

The Pāli recension recounts this legend in considerable detail:

> (3) "Ānanda, whoever is developed in the four psychic powers,[37] who has practiced them well, who has made them his practice, like a [yoked] vehicle,[38] who has made them firm like the foundations of a house, who puts them into action, who has completely accumulated them, and who has skillfully accomplished them, could, if he wished, remain in this world to the limits of his life span,[39] or could remain for an even longer period.[40]
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> "Ānanda, the Tathāgata, who is developed in the four psychic powers, has practiced them well, has made them his practice, like a [yoked] vehicle, has made them firm like the foundations of a house, puts them into action, has completely accumulated them, and has skillfully accomplished them, could, if he wished, remain in this world to the limits of his life span, or could remain for an even longer period."
>
> (4) However, the young Ānanda, failing to understand this clear hint, this clear sign of the Venerable Master, did not beg[41] the Venerable Master, saying to him: "Revered One, may the Venerable Master remain in this world to the limits of his life span. May the Blessed One [the Buddha] remain in this world to the limits of his life span, for the benefit of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the people of the world, for the benefit and happiness of *devas* and human beings." This was because his mind was possessed by Māra.[42]
>
> (5) A second time . . . a third time, the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: "Ānanda, Vesālī is delightful. The sacred tree of Udena is delightful. The sacred tree of Gotamaka is delightful. The sacred tree of Sattambaka is delightful. The sacred tree of Bahuputta is delightful. The sacred tree of Sārandada is delightful. The sacred tree of Cāpāla is delightful.
>
> "Ānanda, whoever is developed in the four psychic powers, who has practiced them well, who has made them his practice, like a [yoked] vehicle, who has made them firm like the foundations of a house, who puts them into action, who has completely accumulated them, and who has skillfully accomplished them,[43] could, if he wished,[44] remain in this world to the limits of his life span, or could remain for an even longer period.
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> "Ānanda, the Tathāgata, who is developed in the four psychic powers, has practiced them well, has made them his practice, like a [yoked] vehicle, has made them firm like the foundations of a house, puts them into action, has completely accumulated them, and has skillfully accomplished them, could, if he wished, remain in this world to the limits of his life span, or could remain for an even longer period."
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> However, the young Ānanda, failing to understand this clear hint, this clear sign of the Venerable Master, did not beg the Venerable Master, saying to him: "Revered One, may the Venerable Master remain in this world to the limits of his life span. May the Blessed One remain in this world to the limits of his life span, for the benefit of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the people of the world, for the benefit and happiness of *devas* and human beings." This was because his mind was possessed by Māra.
>
> (6) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda, "Ānanda, you may leave as it suits you."[45] "Yes, Master," replied Ānanda to the Venerable Master, and he rose from his seat, saluted the Venerable Master, and, with his right shoulder toward [the Buddha], he circled him and sat under a tree nearby.
>
> (7) Soon after the young Ānanda had left, Māra, the Evil One,

approached the Venerable Master, and stood to one side.[46] Standing to one side, Māra, the Evil One, said to the Venerable Master, "Revered One, may the Venerable Master now enter *nibbāna*. May the Blessed One now enter *nibbāna*. Now is the time when the Venerable Master should die.[47] In the past, the Venerable Master said: 'Evil One, I will not enter *nibbāna* until the disciples[48] who are my *bhikkhus* become wise, trained,[49] correctly knowledgeable, learned, preservers of the Dhamma, acting in accordance with the Dhamma,[50] trained according to the Dhamma, acting appropriately to it, preserving that which they know and have been taught by the Master,[51] explaining it, teaching it, making it known, establishing it, elucidating it, analyzing it, and defining it, until they can refute any objections by means of the Dhamma,[52] and explain the teachings without rebuttal.'[53]

(8) "And now the *bhikkhus*, the disciples of the Venerable Master, have become wise, trained, correctly knowledgeable, learned, preservers of the Dhamma, acting in accordance with the Dhamma, trained according to the Dhamma, acting appropriately to it, preserving that which they know and have been taught by the Master, explaining it, teaching it, making it known, establishing it, elucidating it, analyzing it, and defining it, until they can refute any objections by means of the Dhamma, and explain the teachings without rebuttal. Revered One, may the Venerable Master now enter *nibbāna*. May the Blessed One now enter *nibbāna*. Now is the time when the Venerable Master should die.

"Revered One, the Venerable Master has said, 'Evil One, I will not enter *nibbāna* until the disciples who are my *bhikkhunīs*[54] become wise . . . until the disciples who are my lay male followers become wise . . . until the disciples who are my lay female followers become wise, trained, correctly knowledgeable, learned, preservers of the Dhamma, acting in accordance with the Dhamma, trained according to the Dhamma, acting appropriately to it, preserving that which they know and have been taught by the Master, explaining it, teaching it, making it known, establishing it, elucidating it, analyzing it, and defining it, until they can refute any objections by means of the Dhamma, and explain the teachings without rebuttal.' Revered One, may the Venerable Master now enter *nibbāna*. May the Blessed One now enter *nibbāna*. Now is the time when the Venerable Master should die.

"Revered One, the Venerable Master has said, 'Evil One, I will not enter *nibbāna* until the pure practice[55] is established and is flourishing, widespread, well known by people far and wide, and well proclaimed to *devas* and human beings.' And now, Revered One, the Venerable Master's pure practice is established and is flourishing, widespread, well known by people far and wide, and well proclaimed to *devas* and human beings. May the Venerable Master now enter *nibbāna*. May the Blessed One now enter *nibbāna*. Now is the time when the Venerable Master should die."

(9) With this, the Venerable Master said to Māra, "Evil One, be easy. Before long the Tathāgata will enter *nibbāna*. Three months from now the Tathāgata will die."[56]

Māra's temptation receives considerable attention in the sutra, and though it is easy to dismiss the episode as a fairy tale, there must be some reason why it was recounted in such detail. The legend has elements of modern existentialism about it in the portrayal of Ānanda, Gotama's beloved disciple and longtime attendant, as not wishing for his master's prolonged life but saying in effect, "If you are going to die, then die." In our own era more people have come to view old age as a problem, to think that an old person who becomes ill would be better off dying quickly so as not to be a burden on others. Such an attitude takes an extremely objective view of the matter. Ānanda is not necessarily open to criticism here because, unlike the other disciples who maintained a certain distance, he was dedicated to the Buddha.

When in later times the Buddha became deified, Ānanda also received semideification. Thus commentators assumed that Ānanda was "possessed" by Māra, and so the legend was born. Abhidharma scholars of later centuries debated among themselves the action of remaining alive versus the action of giving up life. The issue of whether to fault Ānanda is serious. It is an essential human problem is that however much a child loves his or her parents, it is impossible to be perfectly filial at all times. Furthermore, the episode shows that even a religious practitioner can be possessed by Māra. The problem of evil nature in human existence was pursued at length by non-Indian Buddhist philosophers, leading eventually to the development of the Chinese T'ien-t'ai school's doctrine of the interpenetration of the ten realms.

The issue of determining to die is another issue that draws our attention here. In ancient India, people like the hero Bhīṣma were believed to be able to die by determination (*icchāmaraṇa*). This idea was transferred to Sakyamuni, another revered person. Later Buddhist scholars exercised themselves over the meaning of Sakyamuni's election to enter *nibbāna*

even though eternal life was an option for him.[57] This question is essentially the same as the theme of the Lotus Sutra. In this sense, we can say that the spirit of the Lotus Sutra derives from earliest Buddhism and that the idea continues in the Pure Land sutras.[58]

We are concerned here not with the Sakyamuni of myth and legend, but with elucidating the life of Gotama Buddha, the historical person, and therefore must consider the issue while excluding the legend. The legend, in fact, derives from a verse later in the third section of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta,* which reveals the Buddha's state of mind as death approached:

> Ripe am I with years, and my days now are numbered.
> Leaving you behind, I will go on my way.
> I have made myself my own refuge.
> *Bhikkhus,* be untiring and mindful, keeping the precepts well.
> Guard your minds by concentrating your thoughts.
> He who practices these teachings and regulations unceasingly
> Lays aside transmigration of the recurring birth,
> And puts an end to all suffering.[59]

There will be no teachers after his death; the disciples should consider their teacher the Dharma, the teachings Truth, and the precepts the regulations governing conduct. This sermon, one of his last, makes it apparent that the central teaching of early Buddhism was that one should strive to practice the teachings and keep the precepts.

Gotama made his decision to enter *nibbāna* when he was at the Cāpāla *cetiya;*[60] only the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* says that this event occurred at the "Ape and Monkey Pavilion" in Vaiśālī;[61] all the recensions agree that the decision took place at Vesālī.[62]

The Great Earthquake

THE EARTHQUAKE

The episode of the great earthquake, which occurred while the Buddha was resting under the sacred tree of Cāpāla, has considerable importance in the sutra.

(10) Then the Venerable Master, under the sacred tree of Cāpāla, renounced, mindfully and in full awareness, the factors of life [latent power].[63] And at the moment the Venerable Master renounced the factors of life, a great earthquake occurred. It was fearful and hair-raising, and the drum of the gods burst forth [thunder roared]. Then the Venerable Master, realizing its significance, uttered at that time words of exultation:[64]

> "The Sage [the Buddha] has renounced the factors of becoming that, immeasurable or not, are at the root of the body's formation. With inner joy, and his mind concentrated, he has destroyed the shell-like base of the self's becoming."[65]

The compiler of the sutra means here that the Buddha, sunk deep in a state of *samādhi,* was undisturbed mentally by the shaking of the earth or the roaring of the thunder. The question remains, of course, whether or not an earthquake actually occurred at that time. It is very unlikely that an earthquake happened on the plains stretching from northern Bihar to northeastern Uttar Pradesh, but the sutra's compiler wanted to mention here some kind of convulsion of nature. In ancient India, earthquakes were supposed to signal the coming of some outstanding event, which might or might not be auspicious. Thus the rare occurrence of an earthquake was full of portent.

(11) Then the young Ānanda thought, "How marvelous, how mysterious is this great earthquake, so terrible, so fearful, so hair-raising, and with the drum of the gods bursting forth. What could have caused the great earthquake? What were the conditions [that led to it]?"
(12) Then the young Ānanda went to where the Venerable Master was. Arriving, he greeted him and sat down to one side. Having sat down to one side, the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master, "Revered One, how marvelous, how mysterious is this great earthquake, so terrible, so fearful, so hair-raising, and with the drum of the gods bursting forth. What could have caused the great earthquake? What were the conditions [that led to it]?"[66]

Here the sutra has the Buddha explain the eight causes of earthquakes.[67]

(13) "Ānanda, there are eight causes, eight conditions leading to the occurrence of a great earthquake. What are the eight? Ānanda, this

great earth rests on water, the water on wind, the wind on space.[68] Ānanda,[69] therefore[70] when a particularly great wind blows, it stirs up the water, and the movement of the water causes the earth to tremble. This is the first cause, the first condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(14) "Furthermore, Ānanda, there is an ascetic [*samaṇa*][71] or Brahmin[72] who has supernatural powers, who has the strength to direct the minds of others, or *devas*[73] who have great powers, great supernatural powers, who practice but little thoughts of the earth, but practice without limit thoughts of water. These beings cause the great earth to tremble, to shake, to quake mightily. This is the second cause, the second condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(15) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when a bodhisatta [a buddha before enlightenment] descends from the Tusita heaven,[74] mindfully and in full awareness, into his mother's womb, at that time the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily.[75] This is the third cause, the third condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(16) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when a bodhisatta emerges from his mother's [Māyā's] womb, mindfully and in full awareness, the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily. This is the fourth cause, the fourth condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(17) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when one who has perfected his training [a Tathāgata, a Buddha] attains supreme, correct, and perfect enlightenment, the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily. This is the fifth cause, the fifth condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(18) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when one who has perfected his training [a Tathāgata, a Buddha] sets in motion the wheel of the unsurpassed Dhamma [begins to teach], the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily. This is the sixth cause, the sixth condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(19) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when one who has perfected his training [a Tathāgata, a Buddha], mindfully and in full awareness, renounces the factors of life, the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily. This is the seventh cause, the seventh condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

(20) "Furthermore, Ānanda, when one who has perfected his training [a Tathāgata, a Buddha], enters perfect *nibbāna*, the *nibbāna* where the residue of the defilements no longer exists,[76] the great earth trembles, shakes, and quakes mightily. This is the eighth cause, the eighth condition for the occurrence of a great earthquake.

"Ānanda, these are the eight causes, the eight conditions leading to the occurrence of a great earthquake."[77]

The earthquake conveys impressionistically the profound significance of the Buddha's decision to enter nirvana. Since the various recensions are in agreement on the episode, the legend must have been in place at a relatively early period. Still, the explanation of an earthquake in terms of eight causes and conditions suggests that the episode was added by scholars after the Saṅgha had developed considerably.[78] The prose section would have been compiled after the verse had come into being.

After the list of the eight causes of earthquakes, the Pāli text and Fa-hsien's *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* add explanations connected with other groups of eight, such as the eight kinds of assemblies and the eight stages of mastering the senses.[79] The *Yu-hsing-ching* also treats the eight kinds of assemblies, though not with the same verbosity. The insertion of the discussion about the eight assemblies shows how digression can lead to wordiness. This urge to categorize clearly also governed the compilation of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* and the *Tseng-i a-han-ching;* it weakens the description of the Buddha's momentous last journey.

Although the Pāli text contains the explanation of earthquakes, it lacks the verse that appears in the *Yu-hsing-ching*. Therefore the verse can be considered a later addition.

THE EIGHT KINDS OF ASSEMBLIES

Discussion of the eight kinds of assemblies does not occur at this point in either the Sanskrit or the Tibetan version. It appears in the Sanskrit version elsewhere at XXIII, 6–7 (p. 236). I will refer also to the *Yu-hsing-ching*, elucidating both it and the Pāli text. Here I use the translation from the Pāli text.

(21) "Ānanda, there are eight kinds of assemblies.[80] What are the eight? They are the assembly of Khattiyas, the assembly of Brahmins, the assembly of householders, the assembly of ascetics, the assembly of the host in the realm of the four heavenly kings, the assembly of the thirty-three deities, the assembly of *māras*, and the assembly of Brahmās.[81]

(22) "I well remember, Ānanda, attending many hundreds of assemblies of Khattiyas, where I sat in them, spoke to them, and joined in their debates.[82] Whenever I did so, my [skin] color was like their [skin] color, and my voice was like their voices.[83] I taught them, instructed them, encouraged them, and delighted them with a discourse on the Dhamma. When I spoke to them, though, they did not know me, and asked, "Who is that person speaking? Is he a god or a man?" And having instructed them, encouraged them, and delighted them with a discourse on the Dhamma, I disappeared.[84] However, they did not know me, who had now disappeared, and asked, "Who was that person speaking who has now disappeared? Was he a god or a man?"
(23) "I well remember, Ānanda, attending many hundreds of assemblies of Brahmins . . . assemblies of householders . . . assemblies of ascetics . . . assemblies of the host in the realm of the four heavenly kings . . . assemblies of the thirty-three deities . . . assemblies of *māras* . . . assemblies of Brahmās, where I sat in them, spoke to them, and joined in their debates. Whenever I did so, my [skin] color was like their [skin] color, and my voice was like their voices. I taught them, instructed them, encouraged them, and delighted them with a discourse on the Dhamma. When I spoke to them, though, they did not recognize me speaking and asked, 'Who is that person speaking? Is he a god or a man?' And having instructed them, encouraged them, and delighted them with a discourse on the Dhamma, I disappeared. However, they did not know me, now disappeared, and asked, 'Who was that person who has now disappeared? Was he a god or a man?' These, Ānanda, are the eight assemblies."[85]

The Pāli text then speaks of the eight stages of mastering the senses but, since this section does not appear in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the Sanskrit version, or the Tibetan translation, it is probably a later accretion. Here is another instance where the Pāli text does not display the oldest form.

The text mentions the Khattiya assembly first, before the Brahmin assembly. With the later revival of Brahmanism, the order of precedence changed and Brahmins came to take priority. The original of the *Yu-hsing-ching*, therefore, must have been compiled before the Gupta period.

The list of the eight assemblies is a digression spurred by the mention of the figure "eight" in the eight causes of earthquakes. The *Yu-hsing-ching* digresses even further. Despite the fact that the main point of the episode is Ānanda's attempt to dissuade the Buddha from entering nirvana, the *Yu-hsing-ching* inserts the eight causes of earthquakes, the eight assemblies, and the assembly and discourse in the lecture hall beside the Perfumed Tower, which considerably weakens the realism of the main subject.

The Fate of Being Parted by Death

ANNOUNCING THE DECISION TO DIE

According to the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the Buddha next went to the Perfumed Tower (*kūṭāgāra*).[86] *Kūṭāgāra* can be translated as "multistoried tower";[87] it was supposedly located on the bank of the "Monkey's Pond" in Vesālī, in the Great Forest. The sutra goes on to say that here the Buddha taught the thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment. The Sanskrit text (p. 222), the Sarvāstivādin text, and the Tibetan translation, however, say that the Buddha then went to the sacred tree of Cāpāla (the Pāli text omits this reference) and gathered his followers in a lecture hall, where he spoke to them about the law of impermanence and told them not to grieve at being parted from him.[88] This paragraph is clearly a later insertion. All texts preserve the central theme of the Buddha's announcing his decision to give up life, and Ānanda's attempt to dissuade him; it is onto this trunk that other episodes have been grafted. They also preserve what might be called Gotama Buddha's last testament, the exhortation to honor the Dhamma. At this point the *Yu-hsing-ching* interprets "Dhamma" to be the thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment. This interpretation represents the extreme emphasis that the compilers of the *Yu-hsing-ching* and the Pāli text gave to religious practice, believing that the Dhamma could be manifested through training.

As sutras continued to be compiled, they were categorized in terms of the traditional twelve divisions of Buddhist scripture and said to record the direct words of the Buddha. The *Yu-hsing-ching*, translated from a north Indian Sanskrit text, discusses these twelve divisions of the sutras, a point of divergence from the southern Pāli text.

There are thus numerous disparities between the Pāli text and the *Yu-hsing-ching*, though in places they are identical. In all texts the decision of the Buddha to enter nirvana is pivotal; the *Udāna* (VIII, 1) even treats it as an independent tale,[89] evidence that the episode was greatly prized.

It was inconceivable that a great man like the Buddha would be limited

to the same boundaries of life as ordinary people. Therefore, after his death his followers decided that he had renounced life voluntarily. This belief can be seen as an early stage of his deification, the starting point for the idea that the Buddha had an eternal existence beyond the historical life of Gautama Siddhārtha. Here we find the seeds of later Mahāyāna thought.

Later Pure Land belief also held that the Tathāgata could have prolonged his life if had he wished. The *Larger Sukhāvatī Sutra* says: "If the Tathāgata wished, Ānanda, he could live for a whole *kalpa* on the gift of a single meal, or for a hundred *kalpas*, or for a thousand *kalpas*, or for a hundred thousand *kalpas*, to a hundred thousand *nayutas* of *koṭis* of *kalpas*, or live beyond that, yet the organs of the Tathāgata would not decay, nor the color of his face alter, nor the color of his skin perish."[90] In this sense the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* can be said to predict the idea of Amitāyus, the Buddha of everlasting life. Similarly, a central motif of the Lotus Sutra is the idea of the eternal, original Buddha. The substance of Mahāyāna Buddhism was already forming at this point.

TO BHAṆḌAGĀMA

Next Gotama Buddha traveled to Bhaṇḍagāma, where he gave a discourse and spoke about his own life.

> (1) Then the Venerable Master, in the early morning, put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and bowl, and entered Vesālī to seek alms. He walked about Vesālī seeking alms, and when he had returned from his alms round, and had eaten his food, he looked back on Vesālī with his "elephant's gaze"[91] and said to the young Ānanda, "Ānanda, this is the last time the Tathāgata [= I] will look upon Vesālī. Now, Ānanda, let us go to Bhaṇḍagāma." "Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master went to Bhaṇḍagāma, together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. The Venerable Master stayed at Bhaṇḍagāma.
>
> (2)[92] Then the Venerable Master addressed the *bhikkhus*, "It is because, *bhikkhus*, we did not understand or penetrate[93] the four principles [*dhammā*] that we, you and I together, have long traveled on the round of birth and death. What are the four? [1] It is because, *bhikkhus*, we do not understand or penetrate the noble precepts that we, you and I together, have long traveled on the round of birth and death. [2] It is because, *bhikkhus*, we do not understand or penetrate the noble concentration that we, you and I together, have long traveled on the round of birth and death. [3] It is because, *bhikkhus*, we do not understand or penetrate the noble wisdom that we, you and I together, have long traveled on the round of birth and death. [4] It is because, *bhikkhus*, we do not understand or penetrate the noble emancipation that we, you, and I together, have long traveled on the round of birth and death. Now, *bhikkhus*, we have understood and penetrated the noble precepts, understood and penetrated the noble concentration, understood and penetrated the noble wisdom, and understood and penetrated the noble emancipation. All craving for existence has been cut off, [all craving] leading to existence has been destroyed, and there will be no more rebirth in the deluded [realm]."
>
> (3) Thus the Venerable Master spoke. Having spoken, the Blessed One, the Master, said:[94] "The precepts, concentration, wisdom, and supreme emancipation—these four principles the glorious Gotama realized. Understanding them well, the Buddha taught the Dhamma to the *bhikkhus*. He who has destroyed all suffering, the Master with vision, has already broken all the fetters."[95]
>
> (4) While staying in Bhaṇḍagāma, the Venerable Master gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of lectures about the Dhamma, "Such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration nurtured with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely emancipated from all stain—the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance."[96]

The Pāli description stops here, very simply. The Chinese texts, however, add many further points. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* comments on all the thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment, in answer to the question, "What are the four fields of mindfulness to remove impurity?" In this sense, this sutra, more than any other version, has the character of a commentary. The version was doubtless finalized by *bhikkhus* living in a monastic environment, to whom religious practice was the essence of Buddhism. The *Yu-hsing-ching* adds a description of the "four *dhyānas*" to the discussion of the thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment,[97] and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* adds the "four *dhyāna* practices,"[98] bringing the total to forty-one. Fa-hsien's *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* mentions quite clearly the

thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment, yet adds the four *dhyānas,* ignoring the original numerical structure.[99] The compilers of these texts obviously valued the four *dhyānas* highly. It is also clear that in the early period the contents of numbered categories were not fixed, but simply included various numbered practices. The Sanskrit text (p. 226) says that Śākyamuni went to the village of Kuśita, where he regretted that he would pass from this world.[100]

As the Buddha was leaving Vesālī, he "looked back on Vesālī with his 'elephant's gaze' and said to the young Ānanda, 'Ānanda, this is the last time the Tathāgata will look upon Vesālī.'" His words show a deep sense of regret at his coming death. (And how Indian is the expression "elephant's gaze"!) The legend of the Buddha's memories of Vesālī grew as time passed, and later Buddhists thought that a vast crowd must have gathered in sorrow at this time. Finally, a version of the legend in bas relief tells how Śākyamuni used his supernatural powers to make a great river appear between him and the people who would not leave him in their grief; he then departed, leaving behind his bowl as a memorial.[101]

We have no way of knowing whence it was that the Buddha looked back at Vesālī and commented how beautiful it was. Thinking that it might have been something like a mountain pass, I searched for the place, but the land around the site is completely flat, with paddy fields; there are no elevated locations. Even near Aśoka's stone column and along the road to Patna, nothing like a hillock is to be found anywhere. Since, though, the verb "looked back" translates the Sanskrit *nāgāvalokitenāvalokayati* (Pāli, *nāgāpalokitaṃ vesāliṃ apaloketvā*), which employs the prefix *ava*, he must have looked down from some relatively high spot. The Tibetan translation has simply "looked with his elephant's gaze" (*bal-glaṅ lta-ba ltar gzigs-pa*), which helps little in interpreting the prefix *ava*.[102] The context is revealing, however: "Then the Bhagavat, from a forest near the city of Vaiśāli, turned his body to the right and looked around in every direction with his elephant's gaze" (*de-nas bcom-ldan-'adas groṅ-khyer yaṅs-pa-can-gyi tshal-nas gyas-phyogs-su sku thams-cad-kyis phyogs-te / bal-glaṅ lta-ba ltar gzigs-pa daṅ*). From this sentence we gather that the Buddha's vantage point was 1) an elevated place; 2) a forest; and 3) north of Vesālī. This description corresponds to a place northwest of modern Vaiśālī, identified by local people as Bhima Sena Ka Palla.[103] I have further verified what the local people said through documentary evidence.

In later times, Vaiśālī was one of the eight great Buddhist pilgrimage sites in India. The *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* says: "The seventh [sacred site] is Vaiśāli, where [people] would ponder the life span of the Tathāgata."[104] The Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* says, for the seventh site: "The *caitya* is worshiped where [the Buddha] showed his supernatural powers at Vaiśālī. [They were acts of] emancipation that further increased [*adhiṣṭhāna*] his life span by renouncing his remaining life span [*āyuḥsaṃskāra*]."[105] It is clear that Vaiśālī had come to be associated with, and honored for, the Buddha's decision to enter *parinirvāṇa.*

To detect regret in the Buddha is to see his human side. Stories of his decision to die, however, represent later Buddhist ideals based on his subsequent deification. The wish to die at home is a familiar human trait. Sadly, the Buddha died before he reached his destination. Later Buddhists, in their deep faith, explained this by saying that he himself had made the decision to die. Legends of Ānanda's fault in not asking him to continue living are consistent with this explanation.

From the standpoint of fact, the tradition that Gotama decided on his own death is a fabrication. If he had known he was close to death, he would hardly have set out on his journey, but would have remained at Vulture Peak to die. Here we find an example of a strained interpretation in the sutra.

According to the Pāli text, Gotama went on to the villages of Bhaṇḍa, Hatthi, Amba, and Jambu, and a city named Bhoganagara, on the way to Pāvā. The names of these places differ greatly from text to text. The texts agree only in the fact that he went to Pāvā.

The Four Great Instructions Taught at Bhoganagara

Gotama Buddha then moved to Bhoganagara. *Bhoga* means "enjoyment" or "pleasure"; the city was doubtless materially rich through commerce, which enabled its inhabitants to enjoy comfortable lives and devote themselves to pleasure. Bhoganagara is the site of the Ānanda Shrine. According to some traditions, it was also the place where the Buddha taught the four criteria for judging whether a teaching was truly his, saying that any decision must be made in the light of the *suttas* (sutras) and the *Vinaya.* Since neither anthology had yet been compiled, this section must be a later addition. The Pāli text states:

(5) The Venerable Master, having stayed at Bhaṇḍagāma as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: "Come, Ānanda, let us go to

Hatthigāma . . . , to Ambagāma . . . , to Jambugāma . . . , and then to Bhoganagara."

(6) "Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master went to Bhoganagara together with a large company of *bhikkhus.*

(7) At Bhoganagara, the Venerable Master stayed at the foot of the sacred tree of Ānanda. And here he announced to the *bhikkhus:* "*Bhikkhus,* I will teach you the four great instructions.[106] Listen well, give me your attention, and I will speak." "Yes, Master," replied the *bhikkhus.*[107] The Venerable Master then spoke as follows.

(8) "*Bhikkhus,* suppose a *bhikkhu* were to say: 'Friend, I have personally heard this directly from the Venerable Master; it is the Dhamma, it is the *Vinaya,* it is the teaching of the Master.' *Bhikkhus,*[108] you should neither joyfully accept what he has said, nor should you reject it. Neither joyfully accepting it nor rejecting it, you should comprehend correctly his words and phrases, and compare them with the *suttas* and review and scrutinize them in the light of the *Vinaya.*[109] If, when these words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* they are found not to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are not the words of the Venerable Master; they have been mistakenly understood by this *bhikkhu.*' In that case, *bhikkhus,* you should discard them. However, if those words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* and are found to conform to those of the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached:[110] 'Unquestionably, these are the words of the Venerable Master; they have been correctly understood by this *bhikkhu.*' This [instruction], *bhikkhus,* you should accept as the first [standard for] reference to the sources."[111]

This section (8) shows that the *suttas* themselves acknowledged that the *bhikkhus* held a variety of interpretations of the Buddhist teachings. Section 8, and those that follow (9–11), are clearly later accretions.

(9) "Furthermore, *bhikkhus,* suppose a *bhikkhu* were to say: 'In such and such a place there is a community [of *bhikkhus*], where elders and venerable teachers also dwell.[112] I have personally heard this directly from that community; it is the Dhamma, it is the *Vinaya,* it is the teaching of the Master.' *Bhikkhus,* you should neither joyfully accept what has been said, nor should you reject it. Neither joyfully accepting it nor rejecting it, you should comprehend correctly those words and phrases, and compare them with the *suttas* and review and scrutinize them in the light of the *Vinaya.* If, when these words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* they are found not to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are not the words of the Venerable Master; they have been mistakenly understood by this community.' In that case, *bhikkhus,* you should discard them. However, if those words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* and are found to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are the words of the Venerable Master; they have been correctly understood by this community.' This [instruction], *bhikkhus,* you should accept as the second [standard for] reference to the sources.

(10) "Furthermore, *bhikkhus,* suppose a *bhikkhu* were to say: 'In such and such a place there are a great number of elders, *bhikkhus* of great learning, who transmit the *suttas,* who maintain the Dhamma, who preserve the precepts, and who are versed in the gist of the teachings [*mātikā*].[113] I have personally heard this directly from those elders; it is the Dhamma, it is the *Vinaya,* it is the teaching of the Master.' *Bhikkhus,* you should neither joyfully accept what they have said, nor should you reject it. Neither joyfully accepting it nor rejecting it, you should comprehend correctly their words and phrases, and compare them with the *suttas* and review and scrutinize them in the light of the *Vinaya.* If, when these words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* they are found not to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are not the words of the Venerable Master; they have been mistakenly understood by these elders.' In that case, *bhikkhus,* you should discard them. However, if those words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya,* and are found to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya,* then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are the words of the Venerable Master; they have been correctly understood by these elders.' This [instruction], *bhikkhus,* you should accept as the third [standard for] reference to the sources.

(11) "Furthermore, *bhikkhus,* suppose a *bhikkhu* were to say: 'In such and such a place there is one elder *bhikkhu* of great learning, who transmits

the *suttas*, who maintains the Dhamma, who preserves the precepts, and who is versed in the gist of the teachings. I have personally heard this directly from that elder; it is the Dhamma, it is the *Vinaya*, it is the teaching of the Master.' *Bhikkhus*, you should neither joyfully accept what he has said, nor should you reject it. Neither joyfully accepting it nor rejecting it, you should comprehend correctly his words and phrases, and compare them with the *suttas* and review and scrutinize them in the light of the *Vinaya*. If, when these words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya*, they are found not to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya*, then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are not the words of the Venerable Master; they have been mistakenly understood by this elder.' In that case, *bhikkhus*, you should discard them. However, if those words and phrases have been compared with the *suttas* and reviewed and scrutinized in the light of the *Vinaya*, and are found to conform to the *suttas* or the *Vinaya*, then this is the conclusion that must be reached: 'Unquestionably, these are the words of the Venerable Master; they have been correctly understood by this elder.' This [instruction], *bhikkhus*, you should accept as the fourth [standard for] reference to the sources. *Bhikkhus*, you should accept these four instructions."

(12) Then the Venerable Master, while staying at the foot of the sacred tree of Ānanda in Bhoganagara, gave for the sake of the *bhikkhus* a large number of lectures about the Dhamma. "That is, such and such are the precepts and regulations. Such and such is concentration. Such and such is wisdom. Concentration nurtured with the precepts brings a great result, great merit. Wisdom nurtured with concentration brings a great result, great merit. A mind nurtured with wisdom is completely emancipated from all stain—the stain of the desires, the stain of becoming, the stain of false views, and the stain of ignorance."[114]

The equivalent section in the *Yu-hsing-ching* has, "You should discern truth or falsehood in the various sutras and investigate thoroughly what is the substance and what is the shadow according to the *Vinaya* and according to the Dharma."[115] The Pāli text, in contrast, has "It is the Dhamma, it is the *Vinaya*, it is the teaching of the Master," with no mention of "in the various sutras." This omission suggests that the northern tradition stressed the authority of the sutras to a far greater extent than did the southern. In the *Yu-hsing-ching*, too, we find the developed form of a later time. Similarly, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* relates how the Buddha teaches people according to their type and nature. "According to their clothes, their voice, and their language, I confer upon them the doctrines of the sutras, fulfilling all, and revealing the temporary teachings to be mistaken, and discarding them. All of you receive my teachings, though you do not know me. This is the natural law of the Buddha, for which you should be grateful. This is the Buddha's blessed natural Dharma." The sutra relates that even the deities will be instructed: "Having led them by persuasion and encouragement for their benefit, I caused them to attain the Way of buddhhood and discard [what is mistaken]. All of the deities, you need not know who I am. This is the Buddha's blessed natural Dharma."[116]

This passage is interesting for its frequent mention of the word *blessed*, expressed in Japanese by the compound used to convey thanks (literally, "it is difficult to be") and for the fact that the subject of that description is the "natural Dharma." The words for "thanks" in Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese do not contain the Japanese compound's connotation of difficulty. In Sanskrit, *dhanyavādāḥ* means literally "expressing fortune"; I do not yet know whether this word appears in Buddhist literature, but I certainly have not seen it in the texts I have read so far. The French *merci* and the Spanish *gracias* presuppose an idea of God. (In Christian theology, *mercy* is used only with regard to God's compassion.) There are also the expressions *obligado* in Portuguese and "I am much obliged to you" in English (this phrase is rarely heard in American English, however; uttering it would generally provoke amusement). All cases, however, assume the idea of a contract. In the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, though, there is no premise of God or implied contractual relationship. Rather, it says that to feel or be caused to feel "blessed" ("difficult to be") is the "natural Dharma." This version is very close to the feelings of the Japanese people and to the Japanese expression.

THE BLACKSMITH CUNDA

TO PĀVĀ

According to the Pāli text, the Buddha next went to Pāvā (Skt., Pāpā):[117] "(13) The Venerable Master, having stayed at Bhoganagara as long as he wished, said to the young Ānanda: 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Pāvā.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then, the Venerable Master went to Pāvā together with a large company of *bhikkhus*.[118] At Pāvā, the Venerable

Master stayed at the mango grove of Cunda, son of the blacksmith."[119] Staying in a mango grove on the outskirts of a settlement appears to have been Gotama's custom. Another sutra records that at another time when Sakyamuni was traveling to the Malla city of Pāvā he stayed in the mango grove (*ambavana*) of Cunda, the son of a blacksmith.[120] Cunda's offering is one of the most important incidents in the Buddha's biography.[121]

> (14) Cunda, son of the blacksmith, heard that the Venerable Master had arrived in Pāvā and was staying in his mango grove in Pāvā. Then Cunda, son of the blacksmith, went to where the Venerable Master was. Drawing near, he greeted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. Then the Venerable Master taught him who sat down to one side by means of a lecture on the Dhamma, instructing him, encouraging him, and delighting him.[122]
> (15) Then Cunda, son of the blacksmith, instructed, encouraged, and delighted by means of a lecture on the Dhamma, said to the Venerable Master: "May the Venerable One consent to eating a meal at my house tomorrow, together with his company of *bhikkhus*." The Venerable Master gave his assent by silence.
> (16) Then Cunda, son of the blacksmith, understanding the Venerable Master's assent, rose from his seat, saluted him, passed by him on the right,[123] and departed.[124]

The text suggests that Cunda alone went to see the Buddha. The Sanskrit version here, however, has the words: "The Mallas of Pāvā, having heard that Śākyamuni had arrived, went to see him."[125] Furthermore, word of his arrival spread from group to group. The Tibetan version is identical, while the Sarvāstivādin text is very similar. These versions represent the legend as it developed in later times. It is certainly more likely to be true that, given the relative insignificance of Buddhism during the Buddha's lifetime, he was greeted by Cunda alone.

CUNDA'S OFFERING

Cunda then offered Gotama a meal.

> (17) Now at the end of the night Cunda, son of the blacksmith, prepared a meal of fine-tasting soft and hard foods, and a dish of mushrooms,[126] at his home. Then he went to the Venerable Master and announced that the meal was ready: "It is time, Venerable One. Your meal is ready."
> (18) In the early morning, the Venerable Master put on his inner robe, took up his outer robe and alms bowl, and went, together with his *bhikkhus*, to the house of Cunda, son of the blacksmith. When he arrived, he sat down in the place prepared for him. Having sat, he said to Cunda, son of the blacksmith: "Cunda, give me the dish of mushrooms you have prepared for me. Give to my *bhikkhus* the other hard and soft foods you have prepared." "I understand," replied Cunda, son of the blacksmith, to the Venerable Master, and he gave the dish of mushrooms to the Venerable Master, and the other hard and soft foods he had prepared to the *bhikkhus*.
> (19) Then the Venerable Master announced to Cunda, son of the blacksmith: "Cunda, you should bury the remaining mushrooms in a hole, for I can see no one in this world with its *devas*, *māras*, Brahmās, *bhikkhus*, and Brahmins, and all living beings including *devas* and human beings, who could eat them and thoroughly digest them other than the Fully Perfected One [the Tathāgata]. "I understand," replied Cunda, son of the blacksmith, to the Venerable Master, and he buried the remaining mushrooms in a hole and then drew near the Venerable Master. Drawing near, he saluted and sat down to one side. When Cunda had sat down to one side, the Venerable Master taught him by means of a lecture on the Dhamma, instructing him, encouraging him, and delighting him. He then rose from his seat and departed.[127]

THE FOUR TYPES OF ASCETIC

The Pāli version (*Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*) gives no indication of the type of discourse the Buddha gave Cunda; the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin versions, however, contain a verse passage at this point, which appears also in the *Suttanipāta*.[128]

> (83) Cunda, the son of the blacksmith, said: "I ask the sage of great wisdom, the enlightened one, lord of the Truth, he who is free from craving, supreme among human beings, excellent charioteer: 'How many types of ascetic are there in the world? Please instruct me in this.'"[129]

(84) The Master [the Buddha] replied: "Cunda, there are four types of ascetic, Cunda, there is no fifth.[130] Being asked to my face, I will make it clear to you: he who is victorious in the Way, he who teaches the Way, he who lives according to the Way, and he who defiles the Way."[131]
(85) The blacksmith Cunda said: "Whom do the Awakened Ones call 'one who is victorious in the Way'? How is a student of the Way unequaled?[132] I ask, too, what is meant by living according to the Way? And explain to me, please, the meaning of one who defiles the Way."
(86) [The Buddha replied:] "One who has transcended doubt, who is without suffering, who delights in calm [Pāli, *nibbāna*], who does not cling to greed, who guides devas and humankind, such a person do the Awakened Ones call 'Victorious in the Way.'[133]
(87) "One who knows what is best in this world as the best, and who teaches and analyzes the Dhamma here, that sage who dispels all doubts and is undisturbed by thoughts of desire, that person is called the second of the practitioners, one who teaches the Way.[134]
(88) "One who lives in the Way, in the well-taught words in accordance with the Dhamma, self-restrained, calm, and mindful, speaking without error, that person is called the third of the practitioners, one who lives according to the Way.[135]
(89) "One who only pretends to maintain the vows well,[136] who is shameless, a defiler of families, arrogant, a deceiver, lacking self-restraint, a prattler imitating the true, that person is one who defiles the Way.
(90) "An excellent lay believer, hearing [the characteristics of these people] and understanding them clearly, knows 'They [the four types of ascetic] are all as such.'[137] Though he observes and sees them in this way, the faith of the believer does not disappear.[138] How could he equate the defiled with the undefiled, the pure with the impure?"[139]

Scholars of later times compiled these verses as the essence of the Buddha's discourses.

The discourse on the four types of ascetic says much about Cunda himself. It does not, however, appear in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, though it is found more or less intact in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* in prose form. The use of prose rather than verse was probably a device used by the Chinese translators who, like other early translators, were concerned more with transmitting the content than the form. Perhaps the reason the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* omitted details of the discourse here, as it did in many other instances as well, was a concern with overall consistency. Since the discourse appears in all the other versions, it is very likely that the Buddha actually gave a similar discourse at this point.

If the Buddha did indeed make a distinction between the various types of ascetic (*śramaṇa*) who were to be found in his society, we can make certain guesses about the nature of that society. Powerful metal craftsmen like Cunda possessed the newest technology and came into contact with many different kinds of people through selling their wares, and if they were men of wealth and honor, they would doubtless have been approached by numbers of religious practitioners. Thus for Cunda the Buddha outlined a method for distinguishing the true ascetic from the false. It is not clear, though, what kind of life Gotama himself regarded as the supreme one. From the context we can say that he appeared to respect most highly the one who is victorious in the Way or the one who lives according to the Way. He did not advocate any particular philosophy or metaphysics, but sought to understand and live by the true human Way and to follow it to the end.

Cunda is described as the "son of a *kammāra*." Though this term is usually interpreted as "blacksmith," it actually covers a far greater range of occupations, including goldsmith, silversmith, blacksmith, and coppersmith. It would perhaps be preferable, therefore, to translate *kammāra* as "metalsmith."

Since Cunda succeeded in inviting the Buddha and his followers to a meal, he must have been a wealthy and respected person. In the caste system, blacksmiths and metal craftsmen had low standing and were regarded with contempt by those of higher castes. More precisely, a goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*) who made gold and metal jewelry and other ornaments was a member of the *śūdra* caste, within which there existed both "touchables" and "untouchables." Metalworkers were "touchables."

The fact that the Buddha accepted an invitation from a metal craftsman suggests two important points about his society:

1. Despite an expansion in the ranks of wealth, many of the newly rich had not yet received social acceptance. Such people were seeking new spiritual leaders.

2. The activities of Gotama Buddha responded to the demands of the socially oppressed.

Gotama was not teaching something called "Buddhism" here; rather,

he was instructing his listeners about the way a person could become a true ascetic.

FOOD POISONING

Soon after he had eaten, the Buddha fell gravely ill. The mushrooms that Cunda had given him were poisonous and caused him to suffer a serious attack of diarrhea. The Pāli record is very descriptive: "(20) When the Venerable Master had eaten the meal provided by Cunda, son of the blacksmith, he was attacked by a severe illness, with bloody diarrhea, and the pain was so great that it was as if he were about to die.[140] The Venerable Master endured that pain mindfully, well aware, and without distress. Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda,[141] 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to Kusināra.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda."[142] We should note here the express statement that Gotama Buddha bore stoically the pain caused by the food poisoning: Even a sage like Sakyamuni suffered from illness, though he remained tranquil in his mind despite the suffering. Buddhists of later times, however, thought that the graphic description of the Buddha's illness, down to the information that he experienced bloody diarrhea, was not in keeping with his image as the "Buddha," one whose powers transcended those of the deities themselves. Therefore this sentence, though it was retained through one line of transmission as historical fact, was erased from the majority of the sutras, so that it does not appear in any other version, only in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*

What did the historical Gotama Buddha eat that caused his death? It is an important question, for it relates to the wider issue of diet. Since ancient times scholars and sutras have given various explanations. The text itself says only that he fell ill after eating *sūkara-maddava.*[143] Scholars ever since have been at odds over the interpretation of this word.[144] The Sinhalese translation[145] of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* simply repeats the Pāli word.[146] Buddhaghosa's Pāli commentary says by contrast: "Raw meat of a wild pig which is neither very young nor very old. It is tender and smooth with a good deal of fat. It is prepared and then cooked well. In [this meat] the spirits of the four great continents surrounded by two thousand islands infused their energy."[147]

Two other manuscripts of this commentary offer an additional explanation. "According to some people, *sūkara-maddava* means 'soft rice' ["Reisbrei" in Waldschmidt's translation]. It is based on a stock of five flavors derived from beef. It is like milk-rice, and is the general name given to such dishes. Other people say that *sūkara-maddava* is the way of making the elixir of immortality [*rasāyana*]. This appears in treatises concerning this subject. Cunda prepared this elixir for the Venerable Master so that he would not pass into *nibbāna.*"[148]

A similar explanation appears in a commentary on the *Udāna* by Dhammapāla (fifth to sixth century). "'*Sūkara-maddava*' is the tender, soft, raw flesh of a wild pig, says a commentary on *Udāna, Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* [Great Commentary]. However, some people say it is not the meat of the wild pig, but the bamboo shoots that wild pigs favor. Others say it is the mushroom that grows in the ground where wild pigs tread, while still others say that *sūkara-maddava* is a kind of medicinal herb [*ekarasāyatana*].[149] Cunda, son of a blacksmith, said that he 'heard that [the Venerable Master] was expected to enter *nibbāna* today,' and so gave the dish to him in the hope that his life would be a little more prolonged."[150]

A sutra in Chinese translation gives *sūkara-maddava* as *chan-t'an-erh* ("sandalwood ear").[151] Most versions, however, are not specific, merely translating it as "food."[152] In neither the Sanskrit nor the Tibetan text is there any word corresponding to *sūkara-maddava.*[153] This fact implies that in later times the meaning of the word had been lost and that the compilers of the various versions of the text probably deleted it.

Sūkara is thought to be "wild pig" (with the same etymology as the Latin *sus* and the English *swine*). *Maddava* means "tender." Thus the most popularly accepted meaning is "tender pork"; it has remained current to the present. For example, Franke translates it as "ein grosses Stück saftiges Schweinefleisch," and Arthur Waley also follows this interpretation.[154] Waldschmidt gives a number of possible interpretations, and though he did not favor one over the rest, he was unable to reject the meaning of "pork."[155] Western scholars have tended to follow one or another of Buddhaghosa's hypotheses.

The Sri Lankan scholar-monk Somransi says that the Pāli *sūkara-maddava* is *uru mas* in Sinhalese, an obvious corruption of the Pāli. Both expressions refer to pork. *Maddava* in particular is used for fatty meat. Thus Sri Lankan scholars interpret *sūkara-maddava* as it appears in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* as the fattest cut of pork. This interpretation is not, however, generally accepted. A powerful piece of evidence against it is the appearance in Chinese texts of the word "mushroom." After carefully examining the relevant Chinese texts, Professor Hakuju Ui concluded that it was "a poisonous mushroom."[156] Rhys Davids also interpreted it in this way ("made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a

quantity of truffles").[157] The Chinese compound *chan-t'an-erh* means "a mushroom that grows on a sandalwood tree." This interpretation exists also among southern Buddhist scholars. It is very likely, therefore, that the original meaning of *sūkara-maddava* was "mushroom." We are familiar with French truffles, rare and piquant mushrooms that grow underground and are sniffed out by pigs, and which from ancient times have been considered great delicacies. It is very likely that the *sūkara-maddava* was something similar.[158] According to Dr. Hoey, who has undertaken research in eastern India, local farmers are still fond of a bulbous root (a sort of truffle) found in the jungle, which they call *sūkara-kanda*. K. E. Neumann gives several similar instances of trufflelike roots or edible plants that have such names.[159] At the time of the Buddha, *sūkara-maddava* was in all likelihood such a delicacy, having a distinctive flavor.

R. Gordon Wasson created a considerable stir with his contention that the *soma* mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda* refers to a mushroom.[160] In a discussion of the Buddha's death, he mentions the view that its cause was eating mushrooms; however, he does not express any preference for one theory over another. He points out that the *Laws of Manu* (V, 5 and VI, 14) forbade members of the upper three castes, as well as ascetics, to eat mushrooms (*kavaka*); we should note that the Buddhist legend either explicitly ignores this prohibition or implies that the Buddha died because he had broken the *Laws*. It would perhaps be most accurate to say that the Buddha disregarded the precepts of Brahmanism: for example, the *Laws of Manu* (II, 215) states that Brahmins must not accept food from members of low castes, such as blacksmiths (*karmāra*, "metalworkers"). We have seen how Gotama Buddha publicly trampled such dictates.

Southern Buddhists did not oppose the suggestion that the Buddha ate "tender pork." After all, it was considered appropriate to eat whatever was offered as alms, even if that included meat—and the Buddha never agreed to ban the eating of meat, as can be seen from Devadatta's attempt to impose stricter austerities on the Order. Given, however, that the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (IV, 20) refers to the meal as *bhatta*, a word that is not usually used in connection with meat eating, it is very likely that *sūkara-maddava* meant something that was not meat. The preceding discussion makes clear that by Buddhaghosa's time (around 430) the meaning of *sūkara-maddava* had been forgotten, leaving the term wide open to a variety of interpretations. The only strength of any one of these theories was its ability to seem more convincing than other hypotheses.

The question remains whether or not Indians eat pork. The Hindu word for "pork" is *suar*, which is probably related to the ancient *sūkara*. Though specially bred, fattened pigs are not seen in India, there do exist leaner animals, like wild boar and domestic pigs raised in pasture. The fact that they are raised means that they are doubtless intended for food. An animal called *varāha* ("boar") appears repeatedly in the classics. All the same, no one who has traveled to India has ever mentioned being served pork on festive occasions; it is open to question whether or not it was served on such occasions even in ancient times. The idea that Gotama Buddha suffered food poisoning after being given pork as a special delicacy reflects modern conceptions of pork which do not necessarily parallel ancient culinary tastes.

There is no doubt, however, about the existence of mushrooms in India, variously called *chatrak*, *gaganadhūli*, and *kukurmuttā* in Hindi. When I was in India I was told that a mushroom, written in English as "chhata," grows in the region of Kuśinagar. This word almost certainly derives from the Hindi (छत) and the Sanskrit *chatra* ("parasol"). The mushroom grows in straw and the like; locals say that it is a favorite of pigs. Nevertheless, the mushroom does not seem to be much used in Indian cooking and there is no evidence that the ancients viewed it as a delicacy.[161]

Outside the Pāli text, there is no mention of the type of food that Cunda served to Gotama Buddha. Later commentators were unable to determine what *sūkara-maddava* was; the descriptive and realistic elements of the passage had largely been shorn from the text as it was transmitted, since later generations were principally interested in emphasizing Gotama as a deified being. Recently Stella Kramrisch has suggested, based on the results of Heim's studies and Wasson's investigations in eastern India, that *sūkara-maddava* refers to a plant called *pūtika* (*Guilandina bonduc*).[162] This is one of the plants mixed with the clay used to make the utensil called *mahāvīra* that is placed over the fire during the Pravargya Festival. The plant is mentioned in Brahmanical writings and in literature after the time of the Vedas, sometimes being used as a substitute for *soma*. Since it is called *pūtika* ("rotten"), Indians must think that it has an offensive smell.[163] In view of Dr. Kramrisch's vast erudition, her theory should be carefully considered.

According to Wasson's report, the name *putka*, given to a particular type of mushroom by the Santal people (several million of whom live in Bihar, West Bengal, and Orissa), is a corruption of the Sanskrit *pūtika*.[164]

This mushroom is believed to have divine power, and is dug out by pigs. The fact that the Santal called it *putka* agrees closely with one of the explanations given in the Pāli commentary on the *Udāna*. Wasson therefore concludes that the *sūkara-maddava* was a special type of mushroom served on festive occasions. (If it could be shown that such a custom was prevalent among the Santal, then it would be possible to believe that mushrooms may have once been served as delicacies, even if this is no longer the case.)

Despite the many mysteries about the term *sūkara-maddava*, I favor the interpretation that it was a special type of mushroom. My reasons are as follows:

1. Special mushrooms dug out by pigs are found among the Santal people, and were known in the Kuśīnagar region around the time the Buddha died.

2. One interpretation of the term in the Pāli commentary is "mushroom."

3. The translation *chan-t'an-erh* ("sandalwood ear [mushroom]") is found in Chinese versions.[165]

THE VERSE DESCRIPTION

The Pāli narrative then includes a short verse.[166]

> This I have heard, that after eating the meal of Cunda the blacksmith,[167]
> The firm and constant one [*dhīra*] suffered an illness, severe, deathly.
> Having eaten a mushroom, the Master was attacked by a severe illness.
> Suffering from diarrhea the Venerable Master said,
> "Now will I go to the town of Kusinārā."[168]

The verse makes it clear that the Buddha's illness was caused by the mushrooms Cunda offered him. It does not appear in the Sanskrit or Tibetan versions or in the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*. One of the variant Pāli manuscripts states that the verse was recited by a member of the First Council, when the sutras were collected. A footnote says that the verse is not found in the Ceylonese version. In form the verse does not appear ancient; even Buddhaghosa believed that it and others in the text were added by later compilers. "It should be realized that these verses were placed here by the elders who compiled the sutras,"[169] he wrote about the above-

mentioned verse and the verses in IV, 38 and IV, 41. They are therefore much newer than the prose sections and may originally have circulated separately, to be absorbed into the Pāli text only at a later period.[170]

The comparative lateness of the verse is borne out by the fact that it does not appear in the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, or the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*. Verse in the sutras is not necessarily ancient.[171]

The prose section makes a bald statement; the verse section follows, vividly describing various subjects of the prose section. This is a descriptive form often seen in later Buddhist scriptures. Such a form is already visible in the Pāli text, although it carries the introductory statement, "This I have heard." The verse quoted in IV, 20 is in fact a combination of two separate poems.

CONTINUING WITH THE JOURNEY

According to the Pāli version, Sakyamuni continued to walk toward what would be his final destination, Kusinārā (= Kusinagara, Skt., Kuśinagarī), which is on the edge of the present town of Kasia, some fifty-six kilometers east of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. It was a difficult journey for the old ascetic, wracked as he was with illness. Of all the texts, the Pāli version best portrays Sakyamuni as a man in pain. Though by the time the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* was compiled his deification was much advanced, old traditions still retained glimpses of his humanity. After all, the Buddha was a historical figure and it was impossible to erase all reference to his suffering as a human being.

Sakyamuni set off in the direction of the Hiraññavatī River,[172] but was soon forced to rest: "(21) Then, leaving the road, the Venerable Master went to the foot of a tree. Reaching there, he said to the young Ānanda: 'Fold an outer robe in four for me, Ānanda, and place it down for me, for I am tired and want to sit.'[173] 'Yes, Master,' Ānanda replied, and folded an outer robe into four and spread it out. (22) The Venerable Master sat at the place prepared for him and, having sat, said to the young Ānanda: 'Bring me water, Ānanda, for I am thirsty. Ānanda, I would like to drink.'"[174] The description in the Pāli version is far more realistic than those in the Sanskrit text and the Chinese translations. The one wish of a dying person is for water; we meet Sakyamuni the man in these words. By comparison, the Sanskrit text plays down the human suffering: "Then the

World-honored One [Bhagavant] said to the young Ānanda: 'Go, Ānanda, and fill a bowl with the water of the Krakuṣṭha River, for I would drink its water and pour it over my body.'" The Chinese translations have even less of the human element. There is, however, no diminution of a sage's greatness in his desire for water. A legend in the *Ṛg Veda* (I, 85, 11) tells how the Maruts (storm gods) poured out the water from a fountain for the thirsty sage (*vipra*) Gotama.[175]

The sutra relates that when Ānanda drew water for Sakyamuni to drink, a kind of miracle occurred:

> (22 [*continued*]) The young Ānanda replied to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, five hundred carts have just passed by. The [river] water here, churned up by their wheels, is scanty, disturbed, and muddy, but the River Kakutthā over there is not far and its water is clear, pleasant, cool, pure, easy to approach, and delightful to look upon.[176] Let the Venerable Master drink and cool his body there."[177]
> (23) A second time the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: "Bring me water, Ānanda, for I am thirsty. Ānanda, I would like to drink." And a second time the young Ānanda replied to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, five hundred carts have just passed by. The [river] water here, churned up by their wheels, is scanty, disturbed, and muddy, but the Kakutthā River over there is not far and its water is clear, pleasant, cool, pure, easy to approach, and delightful to look upon. Let the Venerable Master drink and cool his body there."
> (24) A third time the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: "Bring me water, Ānanda, for I am thirsty. Ānanda, I would like to drink." "Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda, and taking his bowl he went to the river. And that river, whose water had been churned up by the wheels of the carts, was scanty and flowed[178] disturbed and muddy, but as Ānanda approached it, it flowed clear, bright, and clean.
> (25) Then the young Ānanda thought: "Ah, how mysterious and wonderful are the great superhuman powers of one who has perfected his practice.[179] This stream had been churned up by the wheels of the carts, and was flowing scanty, disturbed, and muddy, but when I approached it, it flowed clear, bright, and clean!" He drew water into his bowl and went to where the Venerable Master was. Drawing near, he said to the Venerable Master, "Revered One, how mysterious and wonderful are the great superhuman powers of one who has perfected his practice. This stream had been churned up by the wheels of the carts, and was flowing scanty, disturbed, and muddy, but when I approached it, it flowed clear, bright, and clean! May the Venerable Master drink this water, may the Blessed One drink this water." And then the Venerable Master drank the water."[180]

Pukkusa's Acceptance of the Buddha's Teachings

Pukkusa's Experience

Then a Malla called Pukkusa (Skt., Putkasa) came walking along the road on his way from Kusinārā to Pāvā.[181] According to the Pāli text quoted here, he was a student of Āḷāra Kālāma; other texts say that he was a chief minister (*mahāmātra*) of the Mallas.[182] He saw Gotama Buddha sitting beneath a tree and felt drawn to him: "(26) Just then Pukkusa, a Malla and a student of Āḷāra Kālāma, came walking down the road from Kusinārā to Pāvā.[183] Pukkusa, a Malla, saw the Venerable Master sitting beneath a tree. Seeing him, he approached him. Approaching, he greeted the Venerable Master and sat down to one side. Sitting to one side, Pukkusa, a Malla, said to the Venerable Master: 'Revered One, how mysterious and wonderful it is that those who have gone forth out of the world dwell in such calmness of mind.'" Pukkusa was under the impression that the Buddha had learned such tranquillity from Āḷāra Kālāma.

> (27) Once [the ascetic] Āḷāra Kālāma was walking along the highway, when he turned aside to sit under a tree not far from the road to take his noon rest. Just then five hundred carts [belonging to merchants] went by close to Āḷāra Kālāma. A man who was walking along behind the carts came up to Āḷāra Kālāma and, drawing near, said to him: "Revered One, did you see five hundred carts passing by?"
> "No, friend, I did not."
> "Did you hear them, then?"
> "No, friend, I did not."
> "Were you sleeping then?"
> "No, friend, I was not."
> "Were you conscious, then?"
> "Yes, I was."

"So, even though you were conscious and awake, you neither saw nor heard five hundred carts passing by.[184] Revered One, your outer robe is covered with dust."

"Friend, it is so."

And that man thought: "How mysterious and wonderful it is that those who have gone forth out of the world dwell in such calmness of mind. Even though he is truly[185] conscious and awake, he neither sees five hundred carts pass by close to him nor hears the sound of them." He went away proclaiming his great faith in Āḷāra Kālāma.[186]

When a person becomes accomplished in the meditation of *dhyāna* or yoga, he is completely unaware of the things of the outside world.

THE BUDDHA'S EXPERIENCE

In reply the Buddha described his own experience.

> (28) "What do you think, Pukkusa? Which is the more difficult to do or attain—neither to see nor hear, when conscious and awake, five hundred carts passing close by or neither to see nor hear, when conscious and awake, the rain falling from the heavens,[187] the thunder roaring in the heavens, the lightning flashing, and the thunder and lightning reverberating?"
>
> (29) "Revered One, neither to see nor hear, when conscious and awake, the rain falling from the heavens, the thunder roaring in the heavens, the lightning flashing, and the thunder and lightning reverberating, is truly the more difficult to do or attain even compared with the five hundred carts, or six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred, nine hundred, a thousand, or one hundred thousand carts."
>
> (30) "Once, Pukkusa, I was staying at the chaff-house[188] in [the village of] Ātumā. At that very time the rain fell from the heavens, the thunder roared in the heavens, the lightning flashed, and the thunder and lightning reverberated, so that two brothers who were farmers, and four cattle, were killed. At that time a great crowd of people went out from Ātumā to where the two brothers and the four cattle were killed.
>
> (31) "At that time, Pukkusa, I had left the chaff-house and was walking up and down before its entrance. Then a man from the crowd came up to me. Having come up to me he greeted me and stood to one side. I asked that man who stood to one side:

> (32) 'Friend, why has that great crowd of people gathered?' 'Revered One, just now the rain fell from the heavens, the thunder roared in the heavens, the lightning flashed, and the thunder and lightning reverberated, so that two brothers who were farmers, and four cattle, were killed. That is why a great crowd has gathered.[189] But you,[190] where were you?' 'Friend, I was here.' 'But what did you see?' 'Friend, I saw nothing.' 'But what did you hear?' 'Friend, I heard nothing.' 'Then, were you sleeping?' 'Friend, I was not sleeping.' 'Then, Revered One, were you awake?' 'Yes, friend, I was.' 'Then, Revered One, you are saying that though you were conscious and awake, you neither saw nor heard the rain falling from the heavens, the thunder roaring in the heavens, the lightning flashing, and the thunder and lightning reverberating?' 'That is so, friend.'
>
> (33) "Then, Pukkusa, that man thought, 'How mysterious and wonderful it is that one who has gone forth out of the world dwells in such calmness of mind. Even though he is truly conscious and awake, he neither saw nor heard anything, even when the rain fell from the heavens, the thunder roared in the heavens, the lightning flashed, and the thunder and lightning reverberated.' Proclaiming his great faith in me, he departed, saluting me, and encircling me to the right."

Thus did the compiler of the *suttanta* express his belief in the greater depth of the Buddha's meditation and *dhyāna*.

> (34) When he had heard this, Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, I then[191] reject my faith in Āḷāra Kālāma, as if it were blown away in a great wind or swept away in a torrent. Excellent, excellent![192] It is as if a thing that was knocked down has been righted, as if something that was shut has been opened, as if a person who was lost has been shown the way, as if a torch has been raised in the darkness so that one with eyes could see. Just so has the Venerable Master illuminated the Dhamma in various ways. Thus, Revered One, I[193] take refuge in the Venerable Master, and I take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus*. Accept me, Venerable Master, as a lay follower from this day until the day of my death."[194]

The Sanskrit text relates the same episode in abbreviated form (XXVIII, 22 et seq.). It is clear that at that time an ascetic's depth of meditation and *dhyāna* was a crucial factor in attracting the faith of excellent followers.

Here we have another piece of evidence that Buddhism developed out of India's traditional yogic culture.

PUKKUSA'S OFFERING

Tradition has it that Pukkusa then made an offering of robes to the Buddha as the result of his taking refuge in the Buddha.

> (35) Then Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, said to another:[195] "Go and bring me two lengths of finely burnished golden cloth."[196] "Yes, Master," he replied to Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, and brought the lengths of finely burnished golden cloth. Then Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, offered the lengths of finely burnished golden cloth to the Venerable Master. "Here, Revered One, are two lengths of finely burnished golden silk cloth. May[197] the Venerable Master accept the cloth for my sake." "Then, Pukkusa, clothe me in one length and Ānanda in the other." "Yes, Master," replied Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, and clothed the Venerable Master in one, and Ānanda in the other.
>
> (36) Then the Venerable Master instructed, inspired, encouraged, and delighted Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, with a lecture on the Dhamma. Then Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, taught by the Venerable Master by means of the lecture on the Dhamma, being instructed, inspired, and delighted by it, rose from his seat, saluted the Venerable Master reverently, and departed, encircling him [three times] to the right.[198]

Bhikkhus of the Buddha's time wore three robes. They were not made especially for individuals, each being merely a length of cotton cloth about a meter wide. The first was folded in half and wound around the body. The second hung from waist to ankles, secured by a tie that was wound three or four times around the body. The third was worn over the others, wound twice above the feet and over the left shoulder, with the remaining portion falling down the back and then beneath the right arm. The cloth that Pukkusa offered the Buddha was worn like shawls by Gotama and Ānanda. After Pukkusa had left, Ānanda clothed the Buddha in both lengths, which then acted as the first and third robes.[199]

Although according to the Pāli text Pukkusa "clothed the Venerable Master in one [length], and Ānanda in the other," the Sanskrit version says that only Sakyamuni wore the cloth and makes no mention of Ānanda.

Undoubtedly Ānanda did actually wear the cloth, but any mention of his participation was removed as the Buddha became increasingly deified.

Again, while the Pāli text describes how Pukkusa took refuge in Gotama, the *Yu-hsing-ching* says that he took both the Triple Refuge and the five lay precepts, since by that time those were the minimum requirements for Buddhists.[200] The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, after detailing the five precepts, adds strictures against eating meat.[201] This addition demonstrates an attitude considerably different from the ethics of the Theravāda of South Asia and should be noted carefully, since it shows a further addition of Mahāyāna ideas. In the same sutra, too, Pukkusa's departure is accompanied by the explanation that he had to return because of his "numerous duties of state." Clearly a Chinese expression, this statement does not appear in the Pāli, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions. The Chinese translators obviously read the idea of "state" into the original and thus inserted the expression, so typical of China and its absolute state authority.

THE BUDDHA'S BODY SHINES GOLD

According to an old verse incorporated into the Pāli text, "Pukkusa had [someone] bring to him two lengths of finely burnished golden cloth; / The Master put them on, and his body shone golden."[202] The prose section that corresponds to the verse explains in detail: "(37) Soon after Pukkusa, a youth of the Mallas, had departed, the young Ānanda arranged the two lengths of finely burnished golden cloth on the body of the Venerable Master. He saw that the golden cloth appeared dim against the Venerable Master's body.[203] Therefore the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master: 'Revered One, how mysterious and wonderful it is that the skin color of the Tathāgata should be so bright and clear.[204] I have placed two lengths of finely burnished golden cloth of silk on the Venerable Master's body, yet the cloth against the Venerable Master's body appears to have lost its light.'" The Pāli text explains that there are two occasions when the Buddha's skin appears brighter than usual: "'That is so, Ānanda. There are two occasions when the skin color of the Tathāgata is bright and clear. What are the two? One is the night, Ānanda, when the Tathāgata attains supreme enlightenment, and the other is the night when he enters the realm of *nibbāna* without residue. On these two occasions, Ānanda, the skin color of the Tathāgata is bright and clear.'"[205] In later times people believed that a buddha possessed golden skin and that this was one of the thirty-two distinguishing marks of a buddha. This

passage shows us the origin of that idea. The verse quoted here does not appear in the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation, or the Chinese translation (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*). Since the prose section seems to be based on the verse, however, these other texts must have dropped the verse, despite the fact that it was the original component. The author of the prose section wanted to explain why the skin color of the Tathāgata was bright and clear;[206] he had already begun to look upon Gotama Buddha in deified terms.

The fact that the verse is ancient in both content and idea while the prose section is much newer supports the assertion that this *sutta* was compiled on the basis of a collection of verses that had been current from a very early period. Some of those verses were included and some were not.

The description in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* of Sakyamuni's "radiant face being tranquil"[207] was absorbed into the folk tradition of China and Japan and has been a stereotyped expression there from ancient times to the present. It contrasts with more religious descriptions such as those in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*.[208]

To the Kakutthā River

Next Gotama Buddha set out for the Kakutthā River. According to the Pāli text, he had foreseen his own death, and made the move in response.

(38) "Tonight, Ānanda, in the last watch, the complete death of the Tathāgata will take place between the twin *sāla* trees in the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana in Kusinārā."[209] Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda, "Come, Ānanda, let us go to the Kakutthā River."

"Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda.

(39) Then, the Venerable Master went to the Kakutthā River together with a large company of *bhikkhus*. Arriving there, he went down into the water, bathed, drank, and crossed the stream to reach the mango grove. There he said to the young Cundaka:

"Fold an outer robe into four for me, Cundaka, and place it down, for I am tired and want to lie down."

"Yes, Master," the young Cundaka replied, and folded an outer robe into four and placed it down.

(40) Then the Venerable Master lay down in the lion posture,[210] lying on his right side with his [left] foot over his [right] foot, ready to rise again, attentive, and mindful. The young Cundaka sat down in front of the Venerable Master.

(41) The Buddha had gone to the Kakutthā River,
Where the pleasant waters flow clear and bright.
His body utterly weary, the Master plunged into the stream—
The Buddha, without any equal in the world.
Bathing, drinking, crossing [the stream],
The Master headed the group of *bhikkhus*.
The Teacher of the Dhamma in this world,
The Venerable Master, the Great Ascetic came to the Mango Grove.
There he said to the *bhikkhu* called Cundaka:
"Fold [a robe] into four and place it down for my sake,
For I would lie down."[211]
Urged[212] by the Well-Trained One [Sakyamuni],
Cundaka immediately folded [the outer robe] into four and placed it down.
Utterly weary, the Master lay down,
And Cunda[213] sat before him.[214]

Here there is a strong suggestion that the person referred to is Cunda the blacksmith. The man is called both "the young Cundaka" (*āyasmā* Cundaka) and "Cunda." Because he had offered the Buddha a meal he was undoubtedly a layperson and probably also a young man, since he is called "son of the blacksmith" (*kammāraputta*, IV, 42). The name Cundaka has the diminutive suffix *-ka*, meaning "something small"; since it appears in the prose section it cannot be merely a metrical device (*pada-pūraṇa*) as it might be if found in verse. For these reasons, the epithet *āyasmā* must mean "young" rather than "elder" or "venerable." European scholars, like Rhys Davids and Franke, who have translated *āyasmā* in this way[215] have a limited knowledge of texts and are unfamiliar with the living traditions of Sanskrit. All the same, the verse quoted here refers to Cundaka as a *bhikkhu* and the *Yu-hsing-ching* states that he "entered *parinibbāna* before the Buddha." If Cunda and Cundaka are the same person, it is not clear why Cunda the blacksmith should be called a *bhikkhu* here. Perhaps the composer of the verse referred to him in this way because he knew that although Cunda was a layman at the time he made a meal offering to the

Buddha, he later became ordained as a *bhikkhu*. In each version, though, the prose explanation of this section appears to be based on the just-quoted verse, which had formerly circulated orally.

The *suttanta* next mentions that the Buddha predicted Cunda's future happiness as the merit of his offering:

> (42) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: "It might perhaps happen that someone may cause Cunda, son of the blacksmith, thoughts of remorse, saying: 'It is not your merit, friend Cunda, and not your virtue, that the Tathāgata died after eating the last meal offering, that which you offered.'
>
> "Ānanda, the thoughts of remorse of Cunda, son of the blacksmith, should be removed in this way: 'It is your merit, friend, and your virtue, that the Tathāgata died after eating the last meal offering, that which you offered. For, friend Cunda, I have heard directly from the Venerable Master that there are two meal offerings that have the same fruit, truly the same result,[216] greater result and greater merit than any other offering. What are the two? One is the meal offering after eating which the Tathāgata attains supreme enlightenment, and the other is the meal offering after eating which he enters the state of *nibbāna* with no residue. These two meal offerings have the same fruit, truly the same result, greater result and greater merit than any other offering. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has therefore accumulated deeds that will prolong his life. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has accumulated deeds that will increase the beauty of his features. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has accumulated deeds that will increase his happiness. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has accumulated deeds that will increase his fame. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has accumulated deeds that lead to heavenly rebirth. The young Cunda, son of the blacksmith, has accumulated deeds that lead to the acquisition of power.'[217]
>
> "Thus, Ānanda, the thoughts of remorse of Cunda, son of the blacksmith, should be removed in this way."[218]

Gotama Buddha was a man of deep compassion and therefore worried that Cunda might believe that it was his fault that the Buddha died after eating a meal he had offered, and was concerned that others might blame Cunda. Thus he spoke of the merits that Cunda had gained by donating one of the two greatest meal offerings (the first was that offered by two pious merchants soon after Gotama had attained enlightenment). Even though Gotama was suffering from his illness, Gotama was still able to feel concern and compassion for Cunda's plight and attempted to protect him.

The *suttanta* closes this section with a verse that extols the merits of making offerings:

> Then the Venerable Master, perceiving how the matter stood, uttered at this time words of exultation:
> "For one who gives, merit grows;
> In one self-restrained physically and mentally, malice does not arise
> One who is good renounces all evil;
> As sensuous desire, anger, and delusion die away,
> He shakes off all bonds."[219]

Though the Buddha had fallen ill after eating Cunda's meal offering, Cunda himself was pure of heart; in such a one there is great merit.

9. The Great Demise

At Kusinārā

ON THE BANK OF THE HIRAÑÑAVATĪ

Gotama Buddha and his companions next set out for Kusinārā.[1] "(1) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda, 'Come, Ānanda, let us go to the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana at Kusinārā, on the far bank of the Hiraññavatī [Skt., Hiraṇyavatī] River.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda. Then the Venerable Master went to the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana at Kusinārā, on the far bank of the Hiraññavatī River, together with a large company of *bhikkhus*."[2] Even today there is a small river, only a few meters wide, called Hiraṇyavatī, a little more than 1.6 kilometers from Kuśīnagar. Local people say that long ago it was a much larger river.[3]

The *suttanta* goes on: "(1 [*continued*]) Having arrived there, he said to Ānanda, 'Now, Ānanda, prepare for me a bed between the two *sāla* trees, with my head facing north.'[4] 'Yes, Master,' replied Ānanda, and made the bed between the two *sāla* trees with its head to the north. Then the Venerable Master lay down on his right side in the lion posture, with one foot resting on the other, mindful and correctly aware."[5] On the far bank of the Hiraññavatī was a grove (*uyyāna*) of *sāla* trees. Fertile fields of rice and sugar cane abound near Kuśīnagar. They are interspersed with mango and *jambu* trees; *sāla* trees still exist, though they do not grow thickly. The climatic environment was probably very similar twenty-five hundred years ago; as in other areas of northern India, we can still see pairs of large *sāla*

trees rising in close proximity out of the shrubs and grasses (though not, of course, the same specimens that grew in the Buddha's time).

Regarding the Buddha's recumbent posture with his head to the north, the *Yu-hsing-ching* says: "Immediately, he [Ānanda] had his matting laid out with the head to the north. At that time, the World-honored One folded his robe four times, lay down on his right side, and crossed his feet like a lion king."[6] The Japanese have adopted the Indian custom of sleeping with one's head to the north as the customary direction in which the dead lie. In India even today it is considered the optimum position for sleeping, with the sleeper facing west, since paradise is to the north (see the legend of Uttarakuru in the Buddhist texts). South, by contrast, was viewed as the direction controlled by death and evil. In Vārāṇasī, temples line the northern bank of the Ganges; there are none on the southern bank. Pūraṇaḥ Kāśyapaḥ (Skt.; Pūraṇa Kassapa, Pāli) said that good religious actions occurred north of the Ganges, but only bad ones on the southern bank.

The *Yu-hsing-ching* then adds, in words attributed to Sakyamuni: "Lay a couch between the twin *śāla* trees for the Tathāgata, so that my head is to the north and I face the west. For my Law will spread to the north and long remain there."[7] This statement represents later editors' knowledge that Buddhism had spread to Central Asia and China.

One theory says that the Buddha chose to lie with his head to the north because his birthplace was in that direction. Professor Dipak Kumar Barua, however, believes that north was the direction in which the Buddha was lying when he died and that the position has no deeper meaning. He also says that perhaps the idea that the Buddha was lying in the direction of his birthplace derives from Japanese sentiments about one's native home.

According to legend, no sooner did the Buddha lie down than the *sāla* trees burst into bloom:

(2) Then at that time the *sāla* trees gave forth flowers in full bloom out of season.[8] Those flowers fell upon the body of the Tathāgata,[9] sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly *mandārava* flowers fell from the sky[10] upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly sandalwood powder fell from the sky upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly music sounded in the sky in veneration of the Tathāgata. Heavenly songs filled the sky in veneration of the Tathāgata.

(3) Then the Venerable Master said to Ānanda: "Ānanda, those *sāla* trees have given forth flowers in full bloom out of season. Those flowers have fallen upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly *mandārava* flowers have fallen from the sky upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly sandalwood powder has fallen from the sky upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly music sounded in the sky in veneration of the Tathāgata. Heavenly songs filled the sky in veneration of the Tathāgata.

"Never, Ānanda, has the Tathāgata received such respect, honor, reverence, and veneration. Nevertheless, whenever a *bhikkhu*, a *bhikkhunī*, a layman, or a laywoman practices according to the Dhamma, practices correctly, and acts in accordance with the Dhamma, that person respects, honors, and reveres the Tathāgata and pays him the greatest veneration.[11] Therefore Ānanda, let your lesson be this: 'We will practice according to the Dhamma, practice correctly, and act in accordance with the Dhamma.'"[12]

This episode may be an embellishment added in later times.

Next comes an episode difficult for modern people to understand, in which Gotama Buddha dismisses his attendant Upavāṇa.[13]

(4) At that time the young Upavāṇa was standing in front of the Venerable Master, fanning him. The Venerable Master dismissed him, saying: "Leave me, *Bhikkhu*. Do not stand in front of me." And the young Ānanda thought: "The young Upavāṇa has long been the Venerable Master's attendant, remaining at his side and looking after his needs. Why then does the Venerable Master at the hour of his death dismiss the young Upavāṇa, saying to him: 'Leave me, *Bhikkhu*. Do not stand in front of me?' What is the reason that the Venerable Master has dismissed the young Upavāṇa, saying to him: 'Leave me, *Bhikkhu*. Do not stand in front of me'?"

(5) Then the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, the young Upavāṇa has long been the Venerable Master's attendant, remaining at his side and looking after his needs. Why then does the Venerable Master at the hour of his death dismiss the young Upavāṇa, saying to him: 'Leave me, *Bhikkhu*. Do not stand in front of

me'? What is the reason that the Venerable Master has dismissed the young Upavāṇa, saying to him: 'Leave me, *Bhikkhu*. Do not stand in front of me'?"

"Ānanda, *devas* from all the worlds in the ten directions have gathered in a great multitude to see the Tathāgata.[14] For a distance of twelve *yojanas* around the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana at Kusinārā *devas* have gathered in such great numbers that there is not the space to insert the tip of a rabbit's hair between them.[15] Those *devas*, Ānanda, are grumbling,[16] saying: 'We have come from afar to see the Tathāgata. It is rare for Tathāgatas, Arahants, those who have attained supreme enlightenment to appear in the world. But tonight, at the last watch, the Tathāgata will pass away, and this powerful *bhikkhu* is standing in front of the Venerable Master, blocking our view, so that we cannot see the Tathāgata for the last time.' Thus are the *devas* muttering, Ānanda."[17]

(6) "Revered One, what kind of state are the *devas* in, do you think?"[18]

"Ānanda, there are sky-*devas* whose thoughts are of the earth.[19] They are tearing their hair and wailing, stretching forth their arms and raising them, weeping, throwing themselves down like rocks,[20] writhing, saying: 'The Venerable Master is dying, all too soon. The Blessed One is dying, all too soon. The Eye of the World[21] is hiding himself, all too soon.' Ānanda, there are earth-*devas* whose thoughts are of the earth. They are tearing their hair and wailing, stretching forth their arms and raising them, weeping, throwing themselves down like rocks, writhing, saying: 'The Venerable Master is dying, all too soon. The Blessed One is dying, all too soon. The Eye of the World is hiding himself, all too soon.' However, those *devas* who have done away with sensuous desires patiently endure, their minds thoughtful and aware, saying: 'All things that have been made are impermanent. How can it be that [they are not decayed]?'"[22]

The *devas* had flocked to see Sakyamuni on his deathbed. Nevermore would people be able to meet him. What could be done? People of later times invented a clever solution:

(7) "Revered One, formerly *bhikkhus* spending the rainy season at various places would come to see the Tathāgata.[23] We would meet and serve those well-trained *bhikkhus*. However, after the Venerable Master dies, we will not be able to meet those well-trained *bhikkhus*, or serve them, Revered One."

(8) "Ānanda, there are four places at which a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting.[24] What are those four? Here the Tathāgata was born—the place where a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting.[25] Here the Tathāgata attained supreme and perfect enlightenment—the place where a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting.[26] Here the Tathāgata began to teach the Dhamma—the place where a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting.[27] Here the Tathāgata entered *nibbāna* without residue—the place where a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting.[28] Ānanda, these are the four places where a faithful person of good family should feel emotion on visiting. Ānanda, faithful *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* and laymen and laywomen will visit [these places where] the Tathāgata was born, the Tathāgata attained supreme and perfect enlightenment, the Tathāgata began to teach the Dhamma, and the Tathāgata entered *nibbāna* without residue. Ānanda, any person who should die with a pure heart while making a pilgrimage to those shrines[29] will, after death and the dissolution of the body, be reborn in a good place, in a heavenly realm."[30]

The absence of this passage in the other texts shows that it is a later teaching.

Then the Buddha, as part of his final teachings, forbade the *bhikkhus* to look at women:[31]

(9) "Venerable Master, how should we act toward women?"

"Do not look upon them, Ānanda."

"But if we look upon them, Revered One, how should we act?"

"Do not speak to them, Ānanda."

"But if we speak to them, Revered One, how should we act?"

"At such a time, Ānanda, you should act with discretion."[32]

This passage, too, is clearly a later insertion; it is missing from other texts.

ĀNANDA'S LAMENTATION

According to the Sanskrit version, "Ānanda was behind the Venerable Master, leaning heavily against the couch and weeping, the tears coursing [down his cheeks]."[33] The description in the Pāli version is a little different:

(13) And the young Ānanda entered the dwelling, leaned heavily against the doorpost, and wept, thinking: "Ah, I am one who still has much to learn, and I still have much to do.[34] Yet the master who has compassion for me is passing away."

Then the Venerable Master inquired of the *bhikkhus*: "*Bhikkhus*, where is Ānanda?"

"Revered One, the young Ānanda is here. He has entered the dwelling and is leaning heavily against the doorpost, weeping: 'Ah, I am one who still has much to learn, and I still have much to do. Yet the master who has compassion for me is passing away.'"

Then the Venerable Master said to a certain *bhikkhu*: "Go, *bhikkhu*, and say to Ānanda these words from me, 'Friend Ānanda, the Master is calling you.'"

"Yes, Master," the *bhikkhu* replied, and went to Ānanda. Drawing near, he said to the young Ānanda, "Friend Ānanda, the Master is calling you."

"I understand, friend," replied the young Ānanda, and went to the Venerable Master. Drawing near, he saluted him and sat down to one side.[35]

Southern Buddhist scholars thought that Ānanda wept because of his realization that he still had "much to do"; he had not yet finished his training. Such an interpretation seems to me redolent of a doctrinal scholar who had to find a logical explanation for Ānanda's tears. Ānanda wept because he was heartbroken about the Buddha's imminent death. Seeing him in such a state, Gotama told him not to "sorrow and grieve" and gave him careful instruction:[36]

(14) When the young Ānanda had sat to one side, the Venerable Master spoke to him thus: "Desist, Ānanda. Do not sorrow. Do not grieve. I have previously told you that we must separate, part, and change from all our beloved and dear things. Since all things that come into being, exist, and are made must decay, how could they not decay?[37] Such a thing could not be. You, Ānanda, have long served the Tathāgata, acting unstintingly in body, speech, and mind, compassionately, concerned, happily, and wholeheartedly.[38] You have done well, Ānanda. Strive in your training and very soon you will become stainless."[39]

The words of a dying man have an acute appeal. Here the Buddha earnestly speaks to Ānanda about the idea of impermanence. It seems very likely that this episode originated in the actions of the historical Buddha. The same type of realistic touch is found a little later, when Ānanda has the Mallas greet the Buddha in family groups rather than individually (see p. 146). The Mallas had probably gathered out of sympathy, compounded with curiosity, at the sickbed of the religious wanderer who had traveled from a distant place. The Pāli version describes how Ānanda had them salute Sakyamuni. The Sanskrit version is more concise, saying only that the Mallas saluted the Buddha; this version seems to emphasize the authority of the Saṅgha.

DISSATISFACTION WITH KUSINĀRĀ

Buddhists in later times were concerned that Gotama Buddha died in a remote place like Kusinārā, wondering why he did not enter *nibbāna* in a much grander and imposing milieu. To explain the reason, various texts describe the legend of King Mahāsudassana in great detail; the Pāli text describes it very simply:[40]

(17) The young Ānanda said thus to the Venerable Master: "Revered One, let not the Venerable Master die in such a small town, in the midst of a bamboo grove, so far from everywhere.[41] Revered One, there are other great cities, such as Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambī, and Vārāṇasī.[42] In such a place as those should the Venerable Master die. In those places there are wealthy Khattiyas,[43] Brahmins, and householders, who have given their faith to the Tathāgata. They would surely venerate the remains of the Tathāgata." "Do not speak thus, Ānanda. Do not say, Ānanda, 'a small town, in the midst of a bamboo grove, so far from everywhere.'"

To explain why Gotama did not want Kusinārā spoken of in that way, the *suttanta* introduces the tale of King Mahāsudassana.

(18) "Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king called Mahāsudassana.[44] He was a righteous Dhamma king, a world-ruling emperor who had conquered the land in the four directions to bring tranquillity to the people of those realms, and who possessed the seven treasures. This very Kusinārā, Ānanda, was King Mahāsudassana's capital, with the name of Kusāvatī. It stretched twelve *yojanas* long from east to west and seven *yojanas* wide from north to south.

"The capital Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was prosperous and rich, with a large population, full of people, and plentiful in foodstuffs. Just as the divine city of Āḷakamandā, Ānanda, is prosperous and rich, with a large population, full of people, and plentiful in foodstuffs, so was the capital Kusāvatī prosperous and rich, with a large population, full of people, and plentiful in foodstuffs.

"Day and night, Ānanda, Kusāvatī was never free of the ten sounds: the trumpeting of elephants, the neighing of horses, the rattle of carriages, the sound of great drums, the sound of small drums, the sound of lutes, singing, the sound of gongs,[45] and the sound of cymbals. And the tenth sound is that of voices crying: 'Eat, drink, and enjoy yourselves.'"

Buddhists in the period following Sakyamuni's death must have felt that a lonely, out-of-the-way place was not appropriate for the demise of a great religious figure. Therefore they introduced the tale of King Mahāsudassana to give religious significance to Kusinārā, a motivation that is obvious in the short reference included in the Pāli text. However, the later Sanskrit version and the Chinese translations—the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, and the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*[46]—elaborate the tale considerably. They employ the essentially secular image of the wheel-rolling king (*cakravarti-rāja*) to give significance to Kusinārā as the place where the Buddha died. The tale of King Mahāsudassana[47] probably developed first as a kind of *jātaka*, but was then used to give religious meaning to Kusinārā. It is clearly a later device. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* lists only Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha, Malla, and Vaiśālī as the four great countries; all these were either close to where the Buddha died, or were connected in some way with his last journey.[48] The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* states: "These districts and countries are not far from here: Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Campā, Rājagṛha, Bārāṇasī, and Vaiśālī."[49] As in the Sanskrit version, the cities mentioned include those in the regions of Bārāṇasī and Bengal, representing a slight widening of view. The *Yu-hsing-ching* adds Kapilavastu to the list, perhaps because by the time the sutra was compiled that city had acquired mythical status as the place where the Sakya clan originated. The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* gives in addition Ayodhyā, an important city in Hinduism, as well as Takṣaśilā (Taxila) in Pakistan;[50] it must therefore be considered an even later text. In summary, we can discern in the various versions a gradual increase in the number of cities and a broadening of view on the part of the compilers.

THE SALUTATIONS OF THE MALLAS

Gotama Buddha was not wandering aimlessly, going from place to place on impulse; on the contrary, he had followed the trade route from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī and Kapilavatthu, visiting old friends and acquaintances along the way. Now, even though he was weary from illness, he did not forget those people, for to have departed from a place without greeting the inhabitants he knew would have been both impolite and a source of regret in his own heart. Mindful of the bonds of common friendship, Gotama had greetings sent to the Mallas, in whose republic he was. "(19) 'Go, Ānanda, to Kusinārā, and say to the Mallas of Kusinārā:[51] "Tonight, Vāseṭṭhas, in the last watch, the Tathāgata will die. Come to him, Vāseṭṭhas.[52] Come to him, Vāseṭṭhas, so that later you may not regret, saying: 'The Tathāgata died in our territory, but we were unable to see the Tathāgata in the last watch [of the night].'"' 'Yes, Master,' replied the young Ānanda, and putting on his inner robe and taking up his outer robe and bowl,[53] he went into Kusinārā with a companion."

Because the Mallas' state was a republic, news of the Buddha's arrival soon spread among them. "(20) At that time, however, the Mallas of Kusinārā had gathered in their meeting hall and were discussing [public] affairs. To that place went the young Ānanda, and arriving there, he addressed the Mallas of Kusinārā: 'Tonight, Vāseṭṭhas, in the last watch, the Tathāgata will die. Come to him, Vāseṭṭhas, come to him, so that later you may not regret, saying: "The Tathāgata died in our territory, but we were unable to see the Tathāgata in the last watch [of the night]."'" Hearing this, the Mallas hastened to Gotama, with whom their longstanding ties were deep.

(21) Hearing this from the young Ānanda, the Mallas, with their sons, their daughters-in-law, and their wives, felt anguish and grief, and their hearts were constricted with pain.[54] Some were tearing their hair and wailing, stretching forth their arms and raising them, weeping, and throwing themselves down like rocks, writhing, saying: "The Venerable Master is dying, all too soon. The Blessed One is dying, all too soon. The Eye of the World is hiding himself, all too soon."

Then the Mallas, with their sons, their daughters-in-law, and their wives, in anguish and grief, and their hearts constricted with pain, approached the place where the young Ānanda was,[55] within the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana.

Ānanda, realizing that it would be impossible for the great crowd of Mallas to greet the gravely ill Buddha individually, had them pay their respects in groups.

(22) Then the young Ānanda thought to himself:[56] "If I allow the Mallas of Kusinārā to salute the Venerable Master individually, they will not have finished saluting him before daybreak. Let me now therefore group the Mallas of Kusinārā by family, and have them salute the Venerable Master in family groups, saying: 'Revered One, here is the Malla so-and-so, with his children, his wife, his retinue, and his friends, who all salute the Venerable Master with their heads bowed at his feet.'"

Then the young Ānanda grouped the Mallas of Kusinārā by family and had them salute the Venerable Master, saying: "Revered One, here is the Malla so-and-so, with his children, his wife, his retinue, and his friends, who all salute the Venerable Master with their heads bowed at his feet."

By this means did the young Ānanda have the Mallas of Kusinārā salute the Venerable Master in the course of the first watch of the evening.[57]

We do not know whether this episode is historically accurate in all details, but it is very likely that a great number of people would have gathered around the Buddha at this time.

THE ORDINATION OF SUBHADDA

The final person to meet the dying Gotama was a wandering ascetic called Subhadda (Skt., Subhadra), who had insisted on seeing him.[58]

(23) At that time a wandering ascetic named Subhadda was living in Kusinārā. The wandering ascetic Subhadda had heard that *samaṇa* Gotama would die in the last watch of that night. Thereupon the wandering ascetic Subhadda thought: "I have long heard wandering ascetics—elders advanced in years, masters, and teachers—speaking together saying that Tathāgatas, Arahants, those who have attained supreme enlightenment, appear [only rarely] in this world. I have now heard it said also that in the last watch of this night the *samaṇa* Gotama will die and a doubt [uneasiness][59] has arisen in my mind. [But] because I have faith in the *samaṇa* Gotama, I believe that the *samaṇa* Gotama can teach me a doctrine that will be able to dispel that doubt."

(24) Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda approached the place where the young Ānanda was, within the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana. Drawing near, he said to the young Ānanda: "I have long heard wandering ascetics—elders advanced in years, masters, and teachers—speaking together saying that Tathāgatas, Arahants, those who have attained supreme enlightenment, appear [only rarely] in this world. I have now heard it said also that in the last watch of this night the *samaṇa* Gotama will die and a doubt [uneasiness] has arisen in my mind. [But] because I have faith in the *samaṇa* Gotama, I believe that the *samaṇa* Gotama can teach me a doctrine that will be able to dispel that doubt. Permit me then, Ānanda, to meet the *samaṇa* Gotama."[60]

The Sanskrit version is even more precise:

(XL, 1) At that time there lived in Kuśinagarī a wandering ascetic called Subhadra. He was old, advanced in years, and weak with age.
(XL, 2) His years numbered one hundred and twenty and he was revered by the Mallas of Kuśinagarī, honored, esteemed, and given offerings by them, considered by all a person worthy of veneration.
(XL, 3) The wandering ascetic Subhadra had heard: "This night in the middle watch, the *śramaṇa* Gautama will enter the stage of *nirvāṇa* without any remainder of defilement and will pass away."
(XL, 4) [Subhadra said:] "I have doubts about various matters. However, I nurture the hope that Gautama can dispel those doubts for me.
(XL, 5) "Suppose I were to approach the place where the Venerable Master Gautama is, I might, having approached, be able to ask for some instruction if I might be given an opportunity to have a definite answer to my question."
(XL, 6) Then [hearing that Gautama had arrived], he left Kuśinagarī and went to the grove of the two *śāla* trees.
(XL, 7) At that time the young Ānanda was walking in the open ambulatories near the gate of the monastery.
(XL, 8) The wandering ascetic Subhadra saw the young Ānanda from afar. Having seen him, he went to where the young Ānanda was. Approaching, he spoke to the young Ānanda:
(XL, 9) "I have heard, Ānanda, that this night in the middle watch, the *śramaṇa* Gautama will enter the stage of *nirvāṇa* without any remainder of defilement and will pass away.

(XL, 10) "I have doubts about various matters. However, I nurture the hope that Gautama can dispel those doubts for me.
(XL, 11) "Suppose I were to approach the place where the Venerable Master Gautama is, I might, having approached, be able to ask for some instruction if I might be given an opportunity to have a definite answer to my question."
(XL, 12) Ānanda said: "Cease, Subhadra. Do not disturb the Venerable Master. The Venerable Master, the Blessed One, is weary and fatigued in body."
(XL, 13) The wandering ascetic Subhadra said twice, three times, to the young Ānanda:
(XL, 14) "I have long heard from wandering ascetics who were great teachers advanced in years that Arhats, Tathāgatas, those who have attained the true enlightenment of a buddha, appear [only rarely] in this world.
(XL, 15) "[I have heard] that this night in the middle watch, the Venerable Master Gautama will enter the stage of *nirvāṇa* without any remainder of defilement and will pass away.
(XL, 16) "Still, I have doubts about various matters. However, I nurture the hope that Gautama can dispel those doubts for me.
(XL, 17) "Suppose I were to approach the place where the Venerable Master Gautama is, I might, having approached, be able to ask for some instruction if I might be given an opportunity to have a definite answer to my question."
(XL, 18) Again, the young Ānanda said to the wandering ascetic Subhadra:
(XL, 19) "Cease, Subhadra. Do not disturb the Tathāgata. The Venerable Master, the Blessed One, is weary and fatigued in body."[61]

Subhadra is very assertive about meeting the Buddha. Ānanda's reluctance to let him disturb his dying Master was perfectly natural in the circumstances: "(24 [*continued*]) When he [Subhadda] said thus, the young Ānanda said to the wandering ascetic Subhadda: 'Cease, Subhadda. Do not disturb the Tathāgata. The Teacher is weary.'"[62] Three times Subhadda repeated his request, and three times Ānanda denied him.

(24 [*continued*]) The wandering ascetic Subhadda said to the young Ānanda twice and three times: "I have long heard, Ānanda, wandering ascetics—elders advanced in years, masters and teachers—speaking together, saying that Tathāgatas, Arahants, those who have attained supreme enlightenment, appear [only rarely] in this world. I have now heard it said also that this night in the last watch the *samaṇa* Gotama will die and a doubt [uneasiness] has arisen in my mind. Because I have faith in the *samaṇa* Gotama, I believe that the *samaṇa* Gotama can teach me a doctrine that will be able to dispel that doubt. Permit me then, Ānanda, to meet the *samaṇa* Gotama." At the third time also the young Ānanda spoke thus to the wandering ascetic Subhadda: "Cease, Subhadda. Do not disturb the Tathāgata. The Teacher is weary."[63]

Hearing Subhadda's persistent demands, the Buddha, though near death, agreed from his sickbed to speak with the ascetic. What a magnificent attitude that act revealed! The Buddha said, "'Cease, Ānanda. Do not hinder the wandering ascetic Subhadra. Let him come in and ask what he will.'"[64] The Pāli version continues:

(25) The Venerable Master heard the conversation between the young Ānanda and the wandering ascetic Subhadda. Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: "Cease, Ānanda. Do not refuse the wandering ascetic Subhadda. Have Subhadda see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda asks of me he asks out of the desire for knowledge, not because he wants to cause me distress. I will answer any questions that he asks, and he will quickly comprehend my teaching." Then the young Ānanda said to the wandering ascetic Subhadda: "Well, Subhadda, the Master gives you leave [to enter]."[65]

With kindness, the old, ailing *bhikkhu* received Subhadda as interlocutor. Coming into the presence of the Buddha, Subhadda asked for his estimation of the teachings of the various teachers and philosophers famous at the time.

(26) Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda approached the Venerable Master, and drawing near, exchanged joyful salutations with him. Having asked after his health, Subhadda sat down to one side. Having sat down to one side, the wandering ascetic Subhadda asked the Venerable Master: "Master Gotama, all those *samaṇas* and Brahmins[66] who have followers and students, and who are teachers of students, who are known in the world and have fame, who are venerated[67] by many as the founders of religious schools, like Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla,

Ajita-Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi-putta, and Nigaṇṭha Nātha-putta,[68] have they all gained knowledge through their own wisdom, or have none of them any knowledge, or do some have knowledge and others do not?"[69]

Subhadda's questions seem almost malicious. Later, after the Buddha's death, it was Subhadda's indiscreet words that led to the decision to hold the First Council. These two episodes are linked as a matter of course in the Tibetan *Vinaya*, the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, though not in the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, indicating that the text was amended by a later hand.[70]

The Buddha replied to Subhadda that no philosophical theory was of any significance and that there was no need to talk about the matter. "(26 [*continued*]) 'Cease, Subhadda. Never mind whether they have all gained knowledge through their own wisdom, or whether none of them have any knowledge, or whether some have knowledge and others do not. I will teach the Dhamma to you, Subhadda. Listen well, pay close attention, and I will speak.' 'Yes, Master,' replied the wandering ascetic Subhadda."[71] The Sanskrit version follows a similar course, though in somewhat more detail than the Pāli text:

(XL, 20) Then the Venerable Master heard with his penetrating, superhuman powers of hearing the exchange between the young Ānanda and the wandering ascetic Subhadra. Having heard, he instructed the young Ānanda:
(XL, 21) "Cease, Ānanda. Do not obstruct the wandering ascetic Subhadra, but let him come in. Let him ask whatever he wishes. Why is this? It is because it will be the last opportunity for me to speak directly with a wandering ascetic of another religious school [*anyatīrthika*]. Furthermore, this man, this wandering ascetic Subhadra, will be the last of my direct disciples [*sākṣācchrāvaka*], the last *bhikṣu* to be ordained [with the word] 'Come.'"
(XL, 22) Then the wandering ascetic Subhadra, given the opportunity by the Venerable Master, was delighted, satisfied, filled with gladness, encouraged, and, joyfully and happily, approached the place where the Venerable Master was.
(XL, 23) Drawing near, he exchanged salutations [with the Buddha], and, having asked after [the Buddha's] health, he sat down to one side.
(XL, 24) The wandering ascetic Subhadra, having sat down to one side, asked the Venerable Master:

(XL, 25) "Master Gautama, I would ask instruction of you, should you give me the opportunity for receiving conclusive replies to my questions."
(XL, 26) [Missing]
(XL, 27) "Master Gautama, there are different teachings in the world:[72] [those of] Pūraṇaḥ Kāśyapaḥ, Maskarī Gośālīputraḥ,[73] Saṃjayī Vairūṭīputraḥ, Ajitaḥ Keśakambalaḥ, Kakudaḥ Kātyāyanaḥ, and Nirgrantho Jñātiputraḥ. These men all teach their own doctrines."[74]

During the Buddha's lifetime there was no opposition between Buddhism and the non-Buddhist sects. The Pāli text reflects a fluid situation, while the Sanskrit version states clearly that the six influential philosophers mentioned above were "members of non-Buddhist sects." The Sanskrit text would thus seem to imply a more developed and differentiated religious situation.

The teachers of philosophical schools contemporary with the Buddha are generally known as the "six non-Buddhist teachers." This expression appears in both the Pāli and the Sanskrit texts. The corresponding section in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*,[75] however, gives the number as eight and so represents a different line of transmission. Moreover, if the name transliterated as Pai-lu-tze[76] corresponds to Sāriputta, an important issue arises. It is implied that Sāriputta had his own following before he became a disciple of the Buddha; it is hardly likely that his followers merged with the Buddha's community after their master's conversion. According to the Jain *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, the representative member of the Buddhist community was not Sakyamuni, but Sāriputta. Therefore, in Subhadda's eyes, Sāriputta's followers may have seemed slightly different from those of Sakyamuni.

Sakyamuni did not reply directly to Subhadda's questions, but answered more elliptically, in verse:[77]

(27) When I was twenty-nine, Subhadda,
I left home to seek the good.[78]
Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadda,[79]
Since I renounced the world.
I have walked only the realm of the correct principle and
the Dhamma.
Outside that,[80] there is no Wayfarer.[81]

The Buddha was warning Subhadda not to become caught up in meta-

physical speculation, but to live within the Truth. The expression "to seek the good" has ancient antecedents; poets in the period of the *Rg Veda* wrote of wanting to listen to "what is good" (*bhadram*) with the ears and to see it with the eyes.[82] In the same way, Gotama Buddha also sought "the good."

The meaning of the verse is explained in the prose section:[83] "(27 [*continued*]) There is no Wayfarer of the second grade, no Wayfarer of the third grade, no Wayfarer of the fourth grade, [for] all other teachings [other sects and philosophies] are empty. They are devoid of Wayfarers. If these *bhikkhus*, Subhadda, were to live correctly, there would be no lack of *arahants* in the world."[84] The Sanskrit text is virtually identical, though it contains more details about the nature of the religious training. The *Yu-hsing-ching* follows the Sanskrit text closely.

> (XL, 28) Then the Venerable Master recited the following verse:
> (XL, 29) "When I was twenty-nine, Subhadra,
> I left home to seek the good.
> Now more than fifty years have passed, Subhadra,
> Since I renounced the world.
> (XL, 30) "I practiced the precepts, *samādhi*, actions, and wisdom, and the concentration of the mind. I was the one who taught the noble Truth. There was no one else who was a Wayfarer."[85]

The verse appears to be an ancient one that was incorporated into the text; it is interesting for the way it divides Sakyamuni's life into periods. Of more importance is its indication that Gotama went into homelessness to seek "the good," not specifically to seek enlightenment, which is beyond both good and evil. It seems that he was primarily concerned with how best to live in this world. Perhaps this apparent contradiction can be resolved if we subsume the quest for enlightenment, which Buddhists tend to regard as the Buddha's principal motivation, into a broader category of "seeking the good."

What others do is not to be viewed as important; rather, said the Buddha, the individual must devote him- or herself to seeking the truth. Each person does what is necessary for him- or herself and should not be deflected by what others might do. The Buddha's reply to Subhadda was firm; his voice may have been weak, but his words were full of conviction. The Pāli text gives one concrete example of how to lead one's life correctly:

> (27) In whatever teachings or *vinaya*, Subhadda, where the Noble Eightfold Path[86] cannot be discerned, there is to be found no Wayfarer of the first grade, no Wayfarer of the second grade, no Wayfarer of the third grade, and no Wayfarer of the fourth grade. However, in whatever teachings or *vinaya* where the Noble Eightfold Path can be discerned, there is to be found a Wayfarer of the first grade, a Wayfarer of the second grade, a Wayfarer of the third grade, and a Wayfarer of the fourth grade. In my teachings and my *vinaya*, the Noble Eightfold Path is to be found. Here are to be found Wayfarers of the first grade, of the second grade, of the third grade, and of the fourth grade.[87] All other teachings are empty; they are devoid of Wayfarers.[88] If these *bhikkhus*, Subhadda, were to live correctly, there would be no lack of *arahants* in the world [*arahants* would appear one after another].[89]

We can discern here an extremely significant intellectual revolution. Even at his death, the historical Gotama did not teach "Buddhism." What he taught was the Way of Truth that all philosophers and people of religion should follow. The later compilers of the sutra, however, created the specific religion called Buddhism, linking it to the verse just quoted. Even though what Gotama was teaching was comparatively new, it was perhaps because he spoke of seeking the Way of Truth rather than proposing a new religion that he did not suffer any significant opposition or persecution.

Subhadda was won over by what he heard and declared his intention to take refuge in the Buddha: "(28) When he had been taught thus, the wandering ascetic Subhadda said to the Venerable Master: 'It is wonderful, Revered One, wonderful, Revered One. As a person fallen down is set aright, as the hidden is revealed, as the way is shown to one wandering lost, as a lamp is held aloft in the darkness for those who have eyes to see, the Venerable Master has revealed the Dhamma through a variety of ways. Therefore I take refuge in the Venerable Master. I take refuge in the Dhamma and the community of *bhikkhus*. May the Venerable Master receive me as a *bhikkhu* and confer the complete precepts upon me.'"[90] Though he was a follower of another sect, Subhadda took refuge in Sakyamuni. Because of this particular circumstance, Gotama set certain conditions:[91]

> (28 [*continued*]) "Subhadda, if a person who has formerly followed another doctrine wishes to take ordination in these teachings and this *vinaya*,

and seeks to receive the complete precepts, he must live for four months in another place. After the four months pass, if I receive the permission of the *bhikkhus*, he may be ordained by them as a *bhikkhu* and receive the full precepts. However, in certain cases, where different circumstances pertain, I will decide."

(29) "Revered One, if it be that a person who has formerly followed another doctrine who wishes to take ordination in these teachings and this *vinaya* and seeks to receive the complete precepts must live for four months in another place, after which, on receiving the permission of the *bhikkhus*, he may be ordained by them as a *bhikkhu* and receive the full precepts, then I will live for four months in another place. After the four months pass, if I receive the permission of the *bhikkhus*, let [me] be ordained as a *bhikkhu*. Let [me] receive the full precepts."

Then the Venerable Master spoke to the young Ānanda: "Let Subhadda go forth into homelessness, Ānanda."

"Yes, Master," replied the young Ānanda.

(30) Then the wandering ascetic Subhadda said to the young Ānanda: "Friend Ānanda, you have attained profit and that profit is great, for you have, in the Master's presence, received consecration."[92]

The wandering ascetic Subhadda was able to receive ordination in the Master's presence and was received into the community.[93] Immediately afterward, the Venerable Subhadda, alone, living away from the community, strove in his spiritual training, diligently and zealously. Very soon he realized, saw, and attained for himself in this world the ultimate culmination[94] of the supreme pure practice for which people of good family leave home and go into homelessness. And he realized: "Birth and being are destroyed. The pure practice has been attained. All that has to be done has been accomplished. No more will I return to this condition."

The Venerable Subhadda became an *arahant*. He became the last of the Venerable Master's direct disciples.[95]

Despite the likelihood that, as a newcomer to the community, Subhadda still must have remained attached to false or heterodox views, we are told that "very soon" (*na cirass' eva*) he realized "in this world the ultimate culmination of the supreme pure practice" (*anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-pariyosānaṃ*). To attain this supreme pure practice through training was the ultimate aim of all the direct disciples. There was still no concept of the stages of training that would be so emphasized in later times.

Approaching Death

The Last Instructions

The Buddha then gave his final discourse; all texts include it, but the Pāli version is the simplest:[96] "(1) Then the Venerable Master said to the young Ānanda: 'You people may later think, Ānanda: "The teacher who has instructed us in the teachings is no more. We no longer have a teacher." However, it should not be seen like this, for the Dhamma that I have spoken for you and the *vinaya* that I have set out for you will be your teacher after my death.'"[97] The living Buddha was about to disappear, but his teachings (Dhamma) and the precepts (*vinaya*) would remain as the authority for later followers. In early times this idea was understood in a practical sense, but later it developed into the doctrine of the Law-body (*dharma-kāya*). The Buddha then cautioned his disciples to question what they did not understand and to thoroughly comprehend things.

(5) Then the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:* "It may be, *bhikkhus*, that a *bhikkhu* has doubts or suspicions[98] about the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Community, or the Path, or the practice. [At that time,] *bhikkhus*, ask, so that you do not have regrets later, saying 'We were in the presence of the Master, but we could not ask him personally when we were face-to-face with him.'"

When he spoke thus, the *bhikkhus* were silent. For a second time . . . and a third time the Venerable Master said to them: "It may be, *bhikkhus*, that a *bhikkhu* will have doubts or suspicions about the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Community, or the Path, or the practice. [At that time,] *bhikkhus*, ask, so that you do not have regrets later, saying 'We were in the presence of the Master, but we could not ask him personally when we were face-to-face with him.'" The *bhikkhus* remained silent all three times. Then the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:* "You may hesitate to question the Master, *bhikkhus*, because of your respect for him. *Bhikkhus*, ask [like] one companion does to another." When he spoke thus, too, the *bhikkhus* were silent.[99]

Although individuals differ one from another, there is a strong tendency among Japanese and Koreans not to ask questions, out of respect for the teacher. Western university students enjoy asking questions, though even there I noticed variations. In the American South students would merely

ask questions, while those in the northern states seemed to enjoy getting into academic disputes with their professors; I had the strong impression that they liked argument for argument's sake.

The Buddha then gave Ānanda timely instruction:

(6) Then the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Master: "It is marvelous, Revered One, it is strange. I joyfully believe that in this gathering there is not one *bhikkhu* who has doubts or suspicions about the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Community, or the Path, or the practice."

"You have spoken, Ānanda, from your pure faith. However, the Tathāgata has this knowledge: 'In this gathering there is not one *bhikkhu* who has doubts or suspicions about the Buddha, or the Dhamma, or the Community, or the Path, or the practice. Even the last[100] from among the five hundred *bhikkhus* will enter the stream of the sage,[101] and will never backslide,[102] so certain is it that he shall attain correct enlightenment.'"[103]

The next verse is particularly well known as encompassing the whole of the last discourse: "(7) Then the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:* 'Now, *bhikkhus*, I say to you: "All conditioned things [phenomena] pass away. Perfect your practice untiringly."'[104] These were the last words of the Tathāgata."[105] According to the Buddha's last words, the purpose of Buddhism is twofold: to realize the impermanence of all things and to devote oneself to religious training. The words about impermanence take on special poignancy and significance because Sakyamuni himself was old and dying. The compilers of the *suttanta* certainly wanted to emphasize this impression. All the teachings of Buddhism can be incorporated into that phrase. In later times, however, as Gotama was becoming deified as the Buddha, theology came to inform the various sutra translations, and we find expressions that point to the rarity of the appearance of a buddha in the world and the excellence of his physical form. Ernst Waldschmidt has followed those developments closely.[106] The other versions of the *suttanta* have preserved the basic teaching that because all phenomena are impermanent, we must work hard to advance our religious training. But above and beyond that we find many expressions that emphasize the miraculous nature of the Buddha's appearance in the world (like the blooming of *uḍumbara* flowers out of season). Such passages appear in direct proportion to the degree of the Buddha's deification at the time the text was being compiled.

THE BUDDHA'S DEATH

The Buddha's death[107] is described in the "Parinibbāna" section of the *Saṅyutta-nikāya:* "(1) At one time the Venerable Master was staying at Kusinārā and it was there, between the twin *sāla* trees in the *sāla* grove of the Mallas at Upavattana, that he entered complete tranquillity [*parinibbāna*]. (2) At that time the Venerable Master said to the *bhikkhus:* 'Perfect your training diligently. All phenomenal things pass away.' These were the last words of the Tathāgata."[108] The succeeding sentences are almost identical to the account in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. The Buddha entered each of the four stages of the highest meditation as he wished and, emerging from the fourth stage, immediately and utterly passed away. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* continues:

(8) Then the Venerable Master entered the initial *jhāna* [the first stage of meditation].[109] Arising from the initial *jhāna*, he entered the second *jhāna*. Arising from the second *jhāna*, he entered the third *jhāna*. Arising from the third *jhāna*, he entered the fourth *jhāna*. Arising from the fourth *jhāna*, he entered the stage of the abode of the infinity of space.[110] Arising from the abode of the infinity of space, he entered the stage of the abode of the infinity of consciousness. Arising from the stage of the abode of the infinity of consciousness, he entered the stage of the abode of nothingness. Arising from the stage of the abode of nothingness, he entered the stage of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception. Arising from the stage of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception, he entered the concentration of cessation of perception and feeling.[111]

Then the young Ānanda said to the Venerable Anuruddha: "Venerable Anuruddha, the Venerable Master has entered *nibbāna*."

"Friend Ānanda,[112] the Venerable Master has not entered *nibbāna*. He has entered the concentration of cessation of perception and feeling." (9) Then the Venerable Master arose from the concentration of cessation of perception and feeling and entered the stage of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception. Arising from the stage of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception, he entered the stage of

> the abode of nothingness. Arising from the stage of the abode of nothingness, he entered the stage of the abode of the infinity of consciousness. Arising from the stage of the abode of the infinity of consciousness, he entered the stage of the abode of the infinity of space. Arising from the stage of the abode of the infinity of space, he entered the fourth *jhāna*. Arising from the fourth *jhāna*, he entered the third *jhāna*. Arising from the third *jhāna*, he entered the second *jhāna*. Arising from the second *jhāna*, he entered the initial *jhāna*. Arising from the initial *jhāna*, he entered the second *jhāna*. Arising from the second *jhāna*, he entered the third *jhāna*. Arising from the third *jhāna*, he entered the fourth *jhāna*. Arising from the fourth *jhāna*, the Venerable Master immediately entered perfect *nibbāna*.[113]

The disciples no doubt discussed their Master's spiritual condition at the time of his death. However, linking it to the theory of the four *jhānas* is clearly a later accretion.

DATING THE BUDDHA'S DEATH

We have no record of the exact date and time of the Buddha's death. The Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* and the Sanskrit text contain no such information, while the *Yu-hsing-ching* states that the four great events of the Buddha's life—his birth, going into homelessness, enlightenment, and death—all occurred on the same day, the eighth day of Vaiśākha, the second month in the Indian calendar.[114] The eighth had come to be considered an auspicious day, since it was then that the twice-monthly *poṣadha* (Skt.; Pāli, *uposatha*) meeting was held.

> On what day was the Buddha's birth? On what day was the enlightenment? On what day was the passing into *parinirvāṇa*? It was on the day the Puṣya star[115] appears that [the Buddha] was born; [on the day] the Puṣya star appears that [he] went into homelessness; [on the day] the Puṣya star appears that [he] was enlightened; and [on the day] the Puṣya star appears that [he] entered *parinirvāṇa*. What gave birth to the most venerable of all two-legged beings?[116] What made [him] emerge from the thickets of suffering?[117] What made [him] attain the highest Way?[118] What caused [him] to enter the city of *nirvāṇa*?[119] The Puṣya star gave birth to the most venerable of all two-legged beings. The Puṣya star made [him] emerge from the thickets of suffering. The Puṣya star made [him] attain the highest Way. The Puṣya star caused [him] to enter the city of *nirvāṇa*.
>
> On the eighth day the Tathāgata was born; on the eighth day the Buddha went into homelessness; on the eighth day [he] attained enlightenment; and on the eighth day he took up his entry to *nirvāṇa*. On the eighth day the most venerable of all two-legged beings was born; on the eighth day [he] was made to emerge from the thickets of suffering; on the eighth day [he] was made to attain the highest Way; and on the eighth day [he] was made to enter the city of *nirvāṇa*.[120]
>
> In the second month the Tathāgata was born; in the second month the Buddha went into homelessness; in the second month [he] attained enlightenment;[121] and in the second month he took up his entry to *nirvāṇa*. In the second month the most venerable of all two-legged beings was born; in the second month [he] was made to emerge from the thickets of suffering; in the second month [he] was made to attain the highest Way; and in the second month [he] was made to enter the city of *nirvāṇa*.
>
> The *śāla* flowers were in full bloom and rays of light shone forth. At the place where he had been born, the Tathāgata took up his entry to *nirvāṇa*. All the people praise and venerate the *parinirvāṇa* of the Compassionate [One]. May they strive to transcend all fear and determine to take up their entry to *nirvāṇa*.

This section outlines the important events of the Buddha's life. Buddhists of South Asia celebrate all these events on the same day, though to the Japanese it may seem strange to talk of "celebrating" the Buddha's death. The *parinirvāṇa* of the founder is marked only in Buddhism and Jainism; there is no such ceremony in Hinduism. The day, being a holy day, is celebrated as a festival.[122]

Hsüan-tsang's report is somewhat different because of his critical attitude:

> The records of people of the past [concerning the date of the Buddha's death] say that the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa* at the age of eighty on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha. This corresponds to the fifteenth day of the third month [of the T'ang Chinese calendar]. The Sarvāstivādins, however, say that the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa* on the eighth day of the second half of the month of Kārttika, which corresponds to the eighth day of the ninth month [of

the calendar]. Other schools have different explanations for [calculating] the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*. Some say it was more than twelve hundred years ago, some say it was more than thirteen hundred years ago, some say it was more than fifteen hundred years ago, while others say more than nine hundred years have passed but not more than one thousand.[123]

The *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, a biography of Hsüan-tsang composed by Hui-li and supplemented by Yen-ts'ung, says much the same thing: "According to legend, Śākya[muni] lived eighty years in this world, and entered *nirvāṇa* on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha. This is the fifteenth day of the second month. However, the Sarvāstivādins say that Śākya[muni] entered *nirvāṇa* in the second half of the month of Kārttika. This would be the eighth day of the ninth month. Some say that from the time of the *nirvāṇa* until now is twelve hundred years, others say thirteen hundred years, or fifteen hundred years, or more than nine hundred years but less than a thousand."[124] The scholar Shinjō Mizutani comments:

> There are, broadly, three hypotheses concerning the length of Śākyamuni's life. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Fang-teng pan-ni-yüan-ching* say he was seventy-nine; the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* and the *Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang-ching* (fasc. 1) that he was eighty, and the *Ch'ang a-han-ching* (fasc. 4), the *Tsa a-han-ching* (fasc. 35), and the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih* (fasc. 38) that he was more than eighty. It is generally held that he was eighty [when he died]. There are more than fifty theories concerning the year of the Buddha's death, which I cannot state here, but which I have broadly summarized in this fascicle, II-2, note 4. Hsüan-tsang himself presents theories without indicating their sources, and he may have been reluctant to accept one or another in an effort to avoid complications.[125]

The date of the Buddha's death is uncertain.[126] The Pāli text holds that the death occurred on the night of the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha,[127] as did the enlightenment.[128] The birth, enlightenment, and death are all celebrated by South Asian Buddhists as the Wesak Festival (though there is evidence, which requires further research, that in ancient India the three were celebrated separately).[129]

Though this theorized date met the needs of the Buddhists of South

Asia, where there is little awareness of seasonal differences, it was not satisfactory to Buddhists of East Asia, who lived in a very different climate. There, the day of the Buddha's death, traditionally the fifteenth day of the second Indian month (Vaiśākha, which corresponds roughly to our month of May), was adopted directly as the fifteenth day of the second month of the Chinese and Japanese calendars. That time of year is still cold and spring growth has not yet appeared; it was therefore deemed appropriate to the *parinirvāṇa*. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* relates that on the day of the Buddha's death, "the *sāla* trees gave forth flowers in full bloom out of season. Those flowers fell upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration. Heavenly *mandārava* flowers fell from the sky upon the body of the Tathāgata, sprinkling and scattering over it in veneration."[130] This legend supposedly gave rise to the passage in the *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike) that says "the color of the flowers of the twin *sāla* trees reveals the truth that what has prospered must decline." Those who are used to a climate of four distinct seasons, like the Japanese, may interpret the statement in the *suttanta* to mean that the Buddha died in winter, when flowers do not bloom. In fact the coolest period in the region around Kuśīnagar is between November and December, but many flowers do indeed bloom. When I traveled there in the month of December, my party of pilgrims from abroad was presented with garlands of beautiful flowers and had flowers scattered before us, reminiscent of the description in the *suttanta*. By February it is quite hot, very different from the Japanese image of the Buddha's death. In India flowers are always in bloom; the passage in the *suttanta* is largely metaphorical, meant to evoke a sense of the wonders that preceded the *parinirvāṇa*.

KUŚĪNAGAR

The place name

The place where the Buddha died is known today in Hindi and Nepali as Kuśīnagar; this is the form of the name that appears in the works of Indian scholars.[131] Kusinārā is the Pāli reading.[132] Although the common pronunciation outside India is Kuśinagara,[133] this form is not used in the Sanskrit classical texts, where the refined reading of Kuśinagarī tends to appear.[134] If scholarship followed the preferred local form, Kuśīnagar would be the version applied.

In actual fact, though, "Kuśīnagar" is hardly understood in the village

itself, but if it is pronounced in the Japanese way as "Koshinagaru," it is much more understandable. This is because the *u* sound in Indian languages is very close to the Japanese *o*, fairly faithfully reproduced by the Hindi character औ. In addition, the short Japanese vowel sounds much like the long vowel of Indian dialects, which further complicates the matter. In this sense a study of Sanskrit from books alone is not always useful.

Visiting Kuśīnagar

One usually reaches Kuśīnagar from Gorakhpur. Though another route, the so-called Road to Nirvana, runs north from Vaiśālī, a team from the Japanese public broadcasting company NHK that went there in February 1986 found it in very bad condition. By contrast, the road from Vārāṇasī to Gorakhpur and Kuśīnagar is well paved and widely used. This is because the state of Uttar Pradesh, in whose territory it is located, is the site of India's capital city and so receives substantial support from the central government. The other route, from Vaiśālī to Kuśīnagar, lies within the state of Bihar, a region of few resources and poor roads.

People generally travel by train from Vārāṇasī to Gorakhpur. If you take a night train, you will reach Gorakhpur in the early morning and then go on to Kuśīnagar by car or bus. When I first visited the town in 1956, I took that route. We left Vārāṇasī at eleven o'clock at night by a narrow-gauge steam train with sleeping compartments and arrived in Gorakhpur at seven the next morning. After eating breakfast in the second-floor dining room of the large station there, we received a great welcome from a crowd of young men and women. As each of our names was read over a loudspeaker, a girl came forward to place garlands of beautiful flowers around our necks. I realized then how much the Indians relish a lively, festive atmosphere.

Gorakhpur is a large city, with a total population of about 625,000. Its industries include the manufacture of fertilizers, textiles, and sugar, and it is the site of a university famous for its medical department. The city (called Gorakṣapura in Sanskrit, "town of cattle raisers") is named after the Hindu sage Gorakṣanātha or Gorakhnath (10th to 11th century?), whose mausoleum is there.

When I visited the region again in 1976, I traveled to Gorakhpur by a chartered bus on a good direct road. We followed the banks of canals and passed along a toll road (also used by bicycles) until the turnoff for Lucknow. Continuing north, we passed over the Sarda, Rām, Gontī, and

Ghāghara rivers before arriving at Gorakhpur. Ponds and rice fields abound near Gorakhpur; in ancient times this type of landscape probably continued all the way to Kapilavastu, which would explain the name of Gotama's father (Suddhodhana, "pure rice").

Kuśīnagar is well north of Vārāṇasī, close to the border with Nepal, but the roadside vegetation differs little from that in the south. Going eastward, we found the southern (right) side of the road covered with a thick *śāla* forest, a sea of trees. (Such dense forests do not exist in Bihar, where an ancient civilization flourished, or in Uttar Pradesh.) Because the district includes an Indian air force base, we were not allowed to take photographs. The number of small lakes and swamps suggested that the area has high humidity.

Eventually, seemingly endless fields of sugar cane and many canals began to dominate the view. The sight of grazing cattle and attending cowherds reminded us again that Gorakhpur means "town of cattle raisers." A leading Calcutta paper manufacturer, J. Majumdar, told me that the city's Sanskrit name, Gorakṣapura, refers to the Hindu sage Gorakṣanātha (literally, "master of cowherds"), whose shrine north of the city contains no statues but only an image of the sage's footprint carved in stone. Gorakṣanātha was the senior disciple of the Hindu sage Matsyendranātha. This sage practiced a kind of yoga and is now revered as a guardian deity, particularly in Katmandu, where he is regarded as either an avatar of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara or the bodhisattva himself. His statue is paraded on a cart through the streets during the annual festival; his image, with that of Gorakṣanātha, appears on Nepalese coins. Brian Houghton Hodgson refers to his cult in a report. All the same, Mr. Majumdar, though a fervent believer, could only answer "I don't know" to my questions about when and where these sages lived. This is another good example of the suprahistorical nature of the Indians. It appears that the sages date from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but their dates are not important to believers.

Cows were truly numerous in the region. It takes an hour and a half to go by bus from Gorakhpur to Kuśīnagar. As we approached Kuśīnagar, we saw a large number of ponds together with the canals. This high incidence of small reservoirs seemed to indicate the existence of rice fields. Swans bobbed on the waters of a large inlet and *śāla* groves were scattered here and there. We could also see trains of elephants tied to trees. Streams run a considerable distance inland; Naugarh, on the frontier between India and Nepal, actually means "boatkeeper," which suggests

that water transport formerly extended at least that far. Although the houses are built of brick, they have steeply pitched Chinese-style roofs, in contrast to the flat roofs that are usual in India. The shape is no doubt related to the region's heavy rainfall. The landscape was made up of green rice fields, Hindu temples, and solitary cattle.

Early morning in January is quite chilly. Some passersby had completely covered even their heads with voluminous black cloaks. This belies the widely held impression that India is a hot country. All the same, by the time we reached the Nepalese frontier around noon, it had become rather hot. Eventually we arrived at Kasia, a town fifty-six kilometers from Kuśīnagar. We rested at the Buddha Degree College, a school on the outskirts of Kasia which teaches students from the primary through the undergraduate levels. At our welcome reception we were formally greeted by an old Indian gentleman with a long beard and a turban.

We finally reached the site of the Buddha's death, passing in front of a Chinese temple called the Buddhist Temple of the Twin Śāla Trees. At all the pilgrimage sites we visited, we found that Chinese people had built splendid temples. Early Buddhist sutras tell us that the district around Kuśīnagar was ruled by the Mallas under a form of republican government, and that the Buddha died at a place on the outskirts of their city, Kuśīnagar. Later, a number of stupas were built there, but they had fallen into ruin by the time Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang visited the area. The modern temple is located four hundred meters southwest of the Nirvāṇa Stūpa. At its center is the Nirvāṇa Hall, a low cement building faced with white chunam. A marble temple had recently been built by the Burmese; it is called Maṭha Kunwar-ka Kot. (Most Indians, however, are under the impression that the temple was built by the Indian government.) Inside is a long stone statue of the reclining Buddha, reconstructed from fragments of a fifth-century sculpture. About six meters long, it is covered in gold foil from head to toe in the Burmese fashion and enveloped in a yellow silk robe. Around it stand a number of parasols. The badly damaged original statue was discovered by A. C. Carlleyle in 1833, who restored it. The carvings on the sandstone base include images of Vajrapāṇi, Subhadda, and Ānanda. On the western side, on the lower part of the base, is a carving of a seated male figure, under which is the following Sanskrit inscription:

deyadhammo'yaṃ mahāvihārasvāmino[135] Haribalasya /
pratimā c'eyaṃ ghaṭitā Dine . . . mā(?)śvareṇa / /[136]

("This is the donation of Haribala, superintendent of the great monastery.
Also, this statue of the Buddha was made by Dine . . . māśvara [?]").

Though there is nothing in the inscription that gives us a hint about its date, F. Fleet assigns it to the late fifth century based on the calligraphic style. Pilgrims customarily offer flowers to the Buddha statue and make obeisance. The hall is well illuminated by high, round windows formed by tunnel vaulting; the interior is thus very bright. In general, the temples at Indian pilgrimage sites are bright and airy, in great contrast to the somber and dimly lighted temples of Japan.

Śāla trees stand immediately outside the hall; these are the so-called twin *śāla* trees. Though not the original trees, they might be their descendants. Fifty-five *śāla* trees grow in front of the Nirvāṇa Stūpa, together with *jambu* and mango trees. Among the trees lay the remains of ancient monastic cells and *caityas;* on my December visit I found water-filled pits on the site of the excavations. Looking back, I could see the great golden Nirvāṇa Stūpa rising high above the bare, creeper-entwined, withered *shisam* trees. The area was desolate. The big stupa stands behind the Nirvāṇa Hall; restored in 1927, it was at that time covered in gold foil in the Burmese style, though today the gold has blackened and only the lower surfaces retain traces of the original coating. The lowest part of the spiral triple wheel on the top of the stupa is slightly bent.

This site leaves no doubt that it is indeed the place of the Buddha's death. The excavations here revealed the Nirvāṇa Stūpa that had been erected in memory of the Buddha's demise. Within the stupa was found a fifth-century, thirteen-line copper plate inscription that belonged to the former Parinirvāṇa Caitya. The inscription states that the Buddha died at this place. Though there must originally have been an older stupa built by Aśoka, its remains have not been found; they are probably buried beneath the Gupta-period construction. Besides the copper plate inscription, modern excavations have unearthed a number of coins from the time of King Kumāragupta (413–55). After the Indian government's Department of Archaeology completed excavations at the site in 1912, the stupa was restored through the efforts of Burmese Buddhists.

Many more stupas were built later in the area. In addition, among stands of mango, *jambu,* and *śāla* trees stand the remains of several monasteries and shrines dating from between the fifth and twelfth centuries.

Passing a grove beside the Nirvāṇa Stūpa, you come to a small hall called Matha Bhavani Murti Mandir (fifth century). Only a short distance away near the park, it marks the place where the Buddha gave his final discourse. Some say that it is also the spot where Anuruddha offered food to the Buddha. Inside is a large statue of the Buddha in the meditation position with a somewhat stark visage, dating from the time of King Kaniṣka. Until recent years this hall was a Hindu shrine.

A travelers' lodge has been built to accommodate visitors and pilgrims. It is a beautiful building with modern facilities and fits well into its colorful surroundings. Events are held on the sweeping lawns. At the time of the ceremony commemorating the Buddha's birth in 1956, beautiful tents were erected on the lawns to offer refreshments to delegates and to house performances of traditional Indian music.

Kuśīnagar also boasts a Burmese monastery; Burmese priests used to live at the Sīmā (Uposatha Hall) alongside it. The Japanese have also built a hall to commemmorate Sakyamuni. It was there that I met a Chinese priest named Shan-hsiu, who had lived at Kuśīnagar since 1925. For more than thirty years he had been practicing meditation sitting in a tree. If he fell asleep he would fall out of the tree, so he never slept. He recommended this as an excellent way to practice. I realized that the motivation of the Chinese Ch'an (Zen) priest Tao-lin (741–824) and the Japanese priest Myōe (1173–1232), who did the same thing, must have been very similar. People had built the priest Shan-hsiu a small white dwelling near the Cremation Stupa; although he can barely speak the local language, villagers sense his merit and bring offerings to him. Shan-hsiu said that he could never leave this place, sacred to the memory of Sakyamuni. A Chinese professor in our party told us that the priest had walked all the way from China to Kuśīnagar. Language is a strange thing. High-ranking Chinese priests traveling with us who had not until then exchanged a single word with us began speaking animatedly with Shan-hsiu.

The famous Hiraññavatī (Hiraṇyavatī) River is today only a narrow stream that flows immediately north of the Cremation Stupa. Buddhist literature tells us that gold was once found in its waters, and indeed its name means "place where gold is produced." It is possible to see the town of Kasia a little way off to the north across the fields that stretch over the landscape. Since it was December, we could not see what crops grew in the fields; the only one we could make out was sugar cane, and what looked to be palms in some places.[137]

Kuśīnagar in historical records

Fa-hsien described first a place called Rāmagrāma, before relating the forlorn and broken-down appearance of Kuśīnagara.[138]

> Five *yojanas* east from the Buddha's birthplace is a country called Rāmagrāma. The king of this country, having received an [eighth] portion of the Buddha's relics, returned to his country and built a stupa there, which was called the Rāmagrāma Stūpa. Beside the stupa is a pond, in which dwelt a dragon that always guarded the stupa and made offerings to it day and night. [Eventually] King Aśoka appeared in the world and, intending to destroy the eight stupas and build eighty-four thousand stupas [to house the relics], pulled down seven and was about to destroy this stupa [as well]. Then the dragon showed itself and took King Aśoka into his palace, where he had him observe all the things prepared for offerings and said to him: "If you can offer something greater than these, pull down the stupa and take [the relics] with you. I will not oppose you." King Aśoka, realizing that those things prepared for offerings were not of this world, immediately returned [to his capital].
>
> The area surrounding the stupa turned into a wilderness, and there was no one to clean and sweep around it. [However,] a herd of elephants always came and brought water in their trunks to wash the ground, as well as various kinds of flowers and incense to present as offerings to the stupa. A pilgrim once came from some country and intended to offer veneration to the stupa. But seeing the elephants he was very afraid, and climbed a tree and hid there. When he [saw] the elephants making offerings according to the Law, however, he was greatly saddened that there was no monastery from which to offer veneration to [the stupa] in the park and that elephants had to do the sweeping and cleaning. Thereupon the pilgrim abandoned the great prohibitions [he had been following], and became a *śrāmaṇera*. By himself he cleared away the grass and trees, put the area in order, and made it pure and clean. [Then] he appealed to the king of the country to make a dwelling place [there] for priests, and he himself became the head of the temple. Even today priests continue to live there. This happened quite recently, and from that time until now, a *śrāmaṇera* has headed the temple, generation after generation.
>
> Three *yojanas* east from here is the place where the Prince [Siddhārtha]

sent back [his attendant] Chandaka with his white horse, and there too stands a stupa. Four *yojanas* further east [we arrived] at the Charcoal Stupa [where the ashes from the Buddha's funeral pyre are enshrined]. There also is a monastery here.

Next Fa-hsien describes Kuśinagara:

Going a further twelve *yojanas* east [of Rāmagrāma], we arrived at Kuśinagara. North of the town is the Twin [Śāla] Grove, on the bank of the Hiraṇyavatī River, where the World-honored One entered *parinirvāṇa* with his head placed to the north. There are also the places where Subhadra was the last to attain enlightenment, where offerings were made for seven days to the World-honored One in his golden coffin, where Vajrapāṇi laid aside his golden pounder, and where the eight kings divided the relics [of Śākyamuni]. Stupas and monasteries were erected at all of these places, and even today they all still exist. There are very few inhabitants in this town, only [a small group of] priests and [a few] private houses.

Twelve *yojanas* southeast from here is the place where the Licchavis wanted to follow the Buddha to his *parinirvāṇa*. The Buddha refused them, but [they] would not leave the Buddha and return, so he caused a wide and deep ditch to appear, which they could not cross. [Then] the Buddha gave them his bowl as a keepsake and had [them] return to their homes. A stone pillar stands at this place, with an inscription about the event engraved on the upper [part of] it.

Hsüan-tsang, too, gives a detailed description of Rāmagrāma in the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*[139] and then briefly describes Kuśinagara. We will look here only at his description of Kuśinagara.

The capital of the country of Kuśinagara has fallen into ruin, and the towns and villages are in a sad state. The brick foundations of the old city are more than ten *li* in circumference. Its inhabitants are very few, and the towns are desolate.

There is a stupa in the northeastern corner of the city, built by King Aśoka. It was the old house of Cunda. Within the dwelling is a well, dug when [Cunda] was about to make an offering [to Śākyamuni]. Though a great deal of time has passed, its water even now is pure and clean.

Three or four *li* northwest of the city we crossed the Ajitavatī River. Not far from the western bank is the *śāla* grove. The *śāla* is like the oak; its bark is greenish-white and its leaves are glossy. Four trees are particularly tall. This is the place where the Tathāgata died. Within a large brick monastery here is a reclining *nirvāṇa* figure of the Tathāgata, lying with his head to the north. Alongside [the monastery] is a stupa, built by King Aśoka. Its base, though ruined and leaning, still reaches a height of more than two hundred feet. In front is a stone pillar on which is described the event of the Tathāgata's *nirvāṇa*. There is an inscription, but the date of the death is not recorded.

Hsüan-tsang's biography, the *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, gives a description similar to that of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi:*

Passing through the forest, [they reached] the country of Kuśinagara. This country is also extremely desolate. In the northeastern corner of the city is a stupa, built by King Aśoka. Here is the site of Cunda's house. Inside the dwelling is a well, said to have been dug in order to prepare a meal for Śākyamuni. Even now the water remains clear.

Three or four *li* northwest of the town they crossed the Ajitavatī River. Near the bank is a *śāla* grove. These trees resemble the oak; they have a green bark and their leaves shine white. There are here four trees of about the same height. This is the place of Śākyamuni's *nirvāṇa*.

At that place there is a temple built of large bricks. Within is a *nirvāṇa* statue of Śākyamuni, reclining with the head placed to the north. Beside [the temple] is a great stupa, two hundred feet in height, built by King Aśoka. A stone pillar also stands there, describing the event of the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, but there is no record of the date [of his death].[140]

Let us compare these descriptions with the materials available to us today. A copper plate inscribed with the words *[parini]rvāṇa caitya* was found in the relic chamber of the stupa adjoining the colossal recumbent image during excavations there. Vincent A. Smith conducted a detailed investigation based on the records of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang,[141] concluding that the actual Kuśinagara must be in Nepal, near the Little Rāptī (Airāvatī) River and also near the confluence of the Gandak and Little Rāptī rivers at approximately 84°51′ E, 27°32′ N. What is today called Kuśīnagar, he insists, is Veṭhadīpa (Viṣṇudvīpa).

According to the records of Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang, Kuśinagara was in ruins when they visited the place in 406 and 637, respectively. Monasteries were being built in Kasia in the fifth century and should still

have existed in the seventh. Hsüan-tsang remarked that the road had fallen into disrepair; if the road he meant was the route through the Somēsar Range, his remark reflects the condition of the road today as well.

Nevertheless, I think that it is difficult to prove Smith's hypothesis conclusively. Very few large reclining *nirvāṇa* statues of the Buddha can be found today in India; just about the only other one is in the Ajantā Caves. Such a statue would have been highly esteemed by the local people in the fifth century. Perhaps the fact that Hsüan-tsang recorded that the monastery was in ruins reflects his disappointment at its scale.

GRIEF OVER THE BUDDHA'S DEATH

From ancient times the Buddha's death has been described in poetry.[142] Brahmā is said to have spoken the following verse:[143]

(10) All living beings in this world must finally abandon their bodies.[144]
Even as the Master, without peer in the human realm, the great practitioner endowed with [wisdom's] power,[145] he who has attained perfect enlightenment,
Has passed away [*parinibbuta;* Skt., *parinirvṛta*].[146]

Here Brahmā is the mouthpiece for the acute awareness among the Buddha's contemporaries that even the greatest sage among living beings cannot evade death. Immediately following this utterance, Sakka (Sakko devānaṃ Indo) speaks a verse:[147]

(10 [*continued*]) All things that are produced are truly impermanent;
They but come into being and fall into decay.[148]
When such production and decay are brought to an end.
[Perceiving] the tranquillity of these [things that are produced] is bliss.[149]

All phenomena are in a state of flux, coming into existence and then decaying; having arisen they must pass away. The greatest joy is to have brought them to quietude. The verse is well known as a short summary of the teaching of impermanence. It is translated in various ways in the Chinese sutras; perhaps the most widely quoted version is:

All conditioned things are impermanent,
For they arise only to decay.

When there is an end to arising and decay
There is the peace of *nirvāṇa*.

Sakka's verse is also the basis of the Japanese *iroha* verse, which contains each of the syllables of the Japanese script:

Colors are fragrant, but they fade away.
In this world of ours no one remains unchanging.
Today cross over the deep mountains of the conditioned things
And there will be no more shallow dreams, no more drunkenness.[150]

According to the various sutras that relate the Buddha's last journey, Sakka recited his verse on the occasion of Gotama's death. Thus in Sri Lanka *bhikkhus* chant it at funerals and then give sermons on the subject of impermanence; this tradition is very different from the long sutra recitations that form the backbone of Japanese funeral services.

The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* attributed the just-quoted verses to Brahmā and Sakka because those two deities had been regarded as protectors of Buddhism from very early times. Sakka (Indra) was the most powerful of the Vedic gods, while Brahmā was the focus of one of the most popular cults at the time Buddhism developed. Having these two divinities express their devotion to Gotama emphasized his divine character.

Anuruddha, the Buddha's disciple, then recites a verse:[151]

(10 [*continued*]) Already his breathing has stopped, he whose mind is at peace.[152]
The Sage, free from all desire, has passed away, attaining peace.[153]
With undaunted mind, he has endured his suffering:
His mind has become liberated, as an extinguished flame.[154]

Ānanda spoke the following verse:[155]

Fearful was that which then occurred;[156]
The hair of all stood on end,
When he who had attained supreme and correct enlightenment passed away.[157]

According to the prose section, this "fearful" event was a great earthquake: "When the Venerable Master passed away, entering *nibbāna*, a great earthquake occurred, frightening, hair-raising, accompanied by the drum of

heaven [thunder]."[158] This legend surely arose in later times to add impact to the Buddha's death.

The Pāli text has Ānanda recite the final verse, as does the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*;[159] their compilers no doubt believed that the attendant Ānanda must have had a part to play. Nevertheless, the original version named only Brahmā, Sakka, and Anuruddha. Perhaps this means that Anuruddha actually did recite some kind of verse when the Buddha died. Yet, because the compilers wanted to show the two great deities' devotion to the Buddha, they brought these gods in before Anuruddha. An early version of the text appears in the Sanskrit version and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*.[160]

Inserting the presence of many deities and disciples was a device commonly used to emphasize the significance of the Buddha's death. The *Yu-hsing-ching*, for example, introduces various gods and disciples of the Buddha at this point. Having *devas*, especially powerful ones like Brahmā, praising the Buddha also indicates a move toward Sakyamuni's deification. Thus the Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin texts have Brahmā, Sakka, Anuruddha, and Ānanda composing verses of lamentation; all these texts attribute the verses to the same speakers. Why these particular four protagonists appear is debatable. Perhaps, of all the Buddha's disciples, only Anuruddha and Ānanda were with him when he died. Or, at least, of all the disciples who were there, these two were considered the main figures. The choice of deities also focuses attention on two powerful and important *devas* of the time (Indra was the central deity of the Vedas, while Brahmā was the creator and master of the world). Considered from very early times the two great protector deities of Buddhism, they appear constantly in Buddhist sculpture in that role. The verses of lamentation, composed well before the *suttanta* and regarded as having some relation with the Buddha's death, seem to have been linked to these four speakers.

The *Yu-hsing-ching* presents a far greater number of individuals expressing grief; there are eighteen such verses, beginning with one by Brahmā. Thought to have been a much later addition to the text, most are spoken by deities. Thus the Buddha's significance is authenticated by the gods' lamentation over his death.

The various texts are not consistent in the names of those who recited the verses. The verses had been memorized from ancient times to transmit the circumstances surrounding the Buddha's death. When the various texts were written down, the verses were included or discarded according

to the needs of the compilers; this fact accounts for the different attributions.[161] The Chinese *Yu-hsing-ching* has a particularly large number of verses purporting to teach the doctrine of impermanence; they are spoken by a variety of deities, disciples, and other people, including the Buddha's mother, Māyā.

Though the various texts differ in points of detail, there can be no doubt that they transmit the prevailing mood at the time of the Buddha's death. Gotama passed away peacefully, surrounded by his disciples and followers, an exemplar to all ordinary people. His passing left no cloud or stain; those remaining were all filled with loving-kindness and affinity toward one another. That gathering around the deathbed of a sage was an ideal for all living beings had already been expressed in the oldest of the Upaniṣads, the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*:[162] "Speech does not desert one who, knowing thus, that this [Brahman] is speech, meditates upon speech. All living beings gather around him. Having become a god, [he] goes to where the gods are [after death]."[163] As this ideal developed, it was applied to the death of Sakyamuni and led eventually to the idealization represented by the so-called nirvana pictures.[164] The Buddha's death took on ever greater importance as Buddhism expanded; it came to be depicted on a grand scale as a metaphor for compassion. Of particular interest is the way that representations of the nirvana in art changed. According to the oldest Buddhist texts, only human beings and deities had gathered to lament the Buddha's passing. When, however, we examine depictions of the nirvana in the Tun-huang Caves on the western borders of China, we frequently find animals and birds included in the grieving throng. Early examples of this development can perhaps already be seen in Gandhāra art, where fragments of reliefs show many animals, birds, and deities gathered around the Buddha. Though the fact is by no means certain, it seems that they were originally part of nirvana scenes.[165]

In Japan such nirvana pictures are noted for the large numbers of birds and animals that appear in them (for example, the one owned by the Shingon sect on Mount Kōya). According to legend, though, there was no cat at the deathbed. Folktales relate that of all the animals, only the cat did not hurry to reach the Buddha before he died. This also accounts, they say, for its omission from the twelve calendrical signs. In Buddhism itself, however, there is no evidence that the cat was disliked, and in fact it appears from time to time in *Jātaka* stories.[166] Despite the Japanese tradition of not depicting the cat in nirvana scenes, the cat actually does

appear there in some cases. For example, the large-scale sculptures of animals in the nirvana scene at Hōnen-ji in Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture on Shikoku, include a cat, as does the massive picture (18.15 m. x 8.8 m.; 59.9 ft. x 29 ft.) popularly known as the "Cat Mandala" at Gokoku-ji in Tokyo. Supposedly the painter of the latter work, Tanenobu Kanō, included the cat because of his affection for his own cat, which was always with him while he worked on the picture.[167]

LAMENTATION OF THE DISCIPLES

When they realized that the Buddha had died, the disciples threw themselves on the ground, weeping. According to the *suttanta*, "[When the Buddha died] those few *bhikkhus* who had not yet separated themselves from the passions [*avītarāga*] stretched forth their arms and raised them, weeping, and threw themselves down like rocks, writhing and turning, saying: 'The Venerable Master is dying, all too soon. The Happy One is dying, all too soon. The Eye of the World is hiding himself, all too soon.'[168] However, the *bhikkhus* who had separated themselves from the passions patiently endured, their minds thoughtful and aware, saying: 'All things that have been made are impermanent. How can this not be?'"[169] According to the compiler of the *suttanta*, those who had not yet attained enlightenment wept, while those who had achieved true realization did not. The text continues: "(11) Then the Venerable Anuruddha said to the *bhikkhus*: 'Cease, friends, do not grieve and weep. Has not the Venerable Master already told you that all things that are beloved and delightful are subject to separation by birth and death, and that after death their state is of another order?'"[170] According to the Pāli text, both Anuruddha and Ānanda spent that night conversing about the Dhamma. Then Ānanda, following Anuruddha's orders, set off for Kusinārā to announce the Buddha's death to the Mallas. When he arrived they were discussing business in their meeting hall; hearing that the Buddha had died, "they were stricken with grief and sorrow, and their minds were overcome with anguish. Some tore their hair and wept, stretched forth their arms and raised them, wept, and threw themselves down like rocks, writhing and turning."[171]

The Buddha's passing was one with the natural law to which all living beings are subject. It was not a retribution for sin or an atonement for the sins of others. It was simply a manifestation of the law of impermanence.

THE NIRVANA CEREMONY AND NIRVANA PICTURES

Since ancient times, a ceremony to mark the Buddha's death has been held on February 15 (the fifteenth day of the second month) in Japan. It is known by a variety of names, including *nehan-e* ("nirvana ceremony"),[172] *jōraku-e* ("ceremony of perpetual joy"), *nehan-ki* ("nirvana memorial"), and *butsu-ki* ("Buddha memorial"). *Nehan* derives from the Chinese transliteration of the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit *nirvāṇa* and the Pāli *nibbāna*. The term originally indicated a state devoid of human delusion; it became the word commonly used to refer to Sakyamuni's death. In ancient China and Japan, the Buddha was believed to have died on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month; it became a custom for temples to commemorate the Buddha's death on that day by hanging up large pictures depicting the nirvana scene and reciting the *Fo-i-chiao-ching* (*Butsuyuikyō-gyō* in Japanese).

The early Buddhist texts tell us that the disciples grieved over the death of their master. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* describes the sorrow of Ānanda, the disciple closest to the Buddha: "And the young Ānanda entered the dwelling, leaned heavily against the doorpost, and wept. 'Ah, I am still one with much to learn and have much to do. Yet the master who has compassion for me is passing away.'"[173] The deities of heaven and earth also wept: "They are tearing their hair and wailing, stretching forth their arms and raising them, weeping, throwing themselves down like rocks, writhing and turning, saying: 'The Venerable Master is dying, all too soon. The Blessed One is dying, all too soon. The Eye of the World is hiding himself, all too soon.'"[174] The figures in the nirvana scene relief belonging to Hōryū-ji in Nara, Japan, represent this grief well.

Services marking the Buddha's birth, his attainment of enlightenment, and so on were apparently held on separate occasions in ancient times.[175] In India and South Asia, however, the nirvana was rarely commemorated and all the observances were subsumed into one ceremony. This was due to the belief that Sakyamuni's birth, his attainment of enlightenment, and his death all should be observed on the same day, the day of the full moon in Vaiśākha, the second month of the traditional Indian calendar. This day actually corresponds to the middle of May in the solar calendar. In Sri Lanka, it is called the Wesak Festival. In Vietnam it is known as Buddha's Birth and includes the commemoration of the nirvana. Indian Buddhism, incidentally, associated the Buddha's death with the blooming of flowers.[176]

This belief was strange on the part of the Indians, for it must be remembered that flowers bloom the whole year-round in southern India; moreover, the nirvana was thought to have occurred in the second month, well into spring. From this point of view there is no contradiction in the words of the Japanese Buddhist priest and poet Saigyō (1114–90):

> May I die in the springtime,
> Beneath the blossoms,
> In the second month
> When the moon is full.

Of course, if we understand Saigyō's "second month" to be the second lunar month according to Japanese usage, a discrepancy arises, since flowers do not commonly bloom at that time.

The various Buddhist festivals (*maha*) observed in India were translated into Chinese using words that meant "great meeting," "feast," and similar concepts.[177] Though Indian Buddhist texts mention a great variety of such observances, no references can be found to anything like a nirvana ceremony. Hsüan-tsang, however, mentions something very much like it which he witnessed at Bamiyan, Afghanistan, the site of the world's largest Buddha images, carved into a mountainside:[178] "Two or three *li* east of the [royal] city there is [a certain] *saṃghārāma*, in which there is a statue of the Buddha in the sleeping position, depicting his *nirvāṇa*. It is more than one thousand feet long. The ruler of this country, whenever he holds alms assemblies [where donations are made to all people without discrimination], donates all his possessions, from his own wife and children down to his most exquisite jewels. When the government office's warehouse becomes empty, he gives even his own body. Then the officers, from his ministers to the retainers, redeem all of these from priests. They consider this to be their duty."[179] Such an ideal appears often in Buddhist scriptures like the *Jātaka* stories. People would offer money to buy the various offerings; such ceremonies had become the customary way of making donations to the community of the ordained. The fact that Hsüan-tsang described this ritual in such detail suggests that he found it unusual.

Similar observances certainly were followed throughout Buddhist Asia. Nirvana statues have been found at Kuśīnagar in Uttar Pradesh and at Mathurā. A huge reclining figure portraying the Buddha immediately before his death is carved into a cliff at Polonnaruwa, the old Sinhalese capital that flourished from the fourth century C.E. through the eighth century. The standing figure of Ānanda (seven meters in height) grieves at

the Buddha's head. We can surmise that ceremonies were held in front of such statues, although probably not in either the lunar or solar second month; rather, they must have taken place on the fifteenth of Vaiśākha, well into spring. India and most South Asian countries experience heat throughout the year and flowers are always in bloom, so there is no incongruity in the fact that they observe all the important anniversaries of the Buddha's life on the same day. People in East Asia, however, where the climate is remarkable for its seasonal changes, and particularly the Japanese, with their keen awareness of the changing seasons, did not find this custom suitable.[180] In China and then in Japan, the anniversaries were separated: the birth was celebrated on the eighth of the fourth month, a time of flowers and contentment; the enlightenment was observed on the eighth of the twelfth month, when the weather is usually cold and crisp; and the death was commemorated on the fifteenth of the second month, in the bleakness of midwinter. Thus the nirvana ceremony in Japan combines a memorial rite for Sakyamuni with the refined seasonal sensitivity of the Japanese.[181]

It is unclear when the nirvana ceremony was first observed as a custom in Japan. The *Jiyō nikki* (Record of the Annual Events) of Hōryū-ji, copied in 1366, mentions such a rite's being performed in the Great Lecture Hall there and implies that similar ceremonies had taken place previously. It is likely that they began around the same time as the rites marking the Buddha's birth that were first performed in 1119. The nirvana ceremony was revived there in 1983.[182]

The nirvana picture that must have decorated the Great Lecture Hall at Hōryū-ji from around the thirteenth century has not come down to us. The current one was painted in 1711 by Saiganji Kokan to fit the dimensions of the hall. Indian representations of the nirvana date from a very early period; the majority are reliefs in stone.[183]

THE FUNERAL

THE FUNERAL

Immediately after the Buddha's death, the Mallas of Kusinārā took charge of the funeral arrangements.[184]

(13) Then the Mallas of Kusinārā ordered their servants: "Gather per-

fumes, garlands, and all the musical instruments that are in Kusinārā."[185] Then the Mallas of Kusinārā took perfumes, garlands, and all the musical instruments, as well as five hundred sets of cloth, to the Mallas' *sāla* grove of Upavattana where the Venerable Master's body was lying. Arriving there, they spent the day honoring, esteeming, worshiping, and venerating the body of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes, and raising awnings and erecting cloth enclosures.[186]

At that time the Mallas of Kusinārā thought thus: "Today is not a suitable time for the cremation[187] of the body of the Venerable Master. Tomorrow we will cremate the body of the Venerable Master." And then, honoring, esteeming, worshiping, and venerating the body of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes, and raising awnings and surrounding cloth partitions, they spent the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth days.

(14) Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinārā thought thus: "We have honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the body of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes. Now we will carry [it] to the south of the city[188] along the road that passes to the south, carry [it] out of the city by the road that leads out of the city, and south of the city we will cremate the body of the Venerable Master."

Then the eight chiefs of the Mallas, having [washed] their heads by putting their heads in the water and put on new robes, thought: "Now we will lift up the body of the Venerable Master to carry it," but they were not able to do so. Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the Venerable Anuruddha: "The eight chiefs of the Mallas, having [washed] their heads by putting their heads in the water and put on new robes, thought: 'Now we will lift up the body of the Venerable Master to carry it,' but they were not able to do so. What is the reason for this, Venerable One?"

"Vāseṭṭhas, your intention and the intention of the *devas* are different."

(15) "But, Venerable One, what kind of thing is the intention of the *devas*?"

"Vāseṭṭhas, your intention is, having honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the body of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes, to carry [it] to the south of the city along the road that passes to the south, carry [it] out of the city by the road that leads out of the city, and south of the city cremate the body of the Venerable Master. However, Vāseṭṭhas, the intention of the *devas* is, having honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the body of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes, to carry [it] to the north of the city along the road that passes to the north, entering the city from the north gate, carry [it] to the center of the city by the road that passes through the center of the city, and go through the eastern gate to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuṭa-bandhana, east of the city, and there cremate the body of the Venerable Master."

"Venerable One, we will act according to the intention of the *devas*."[189]

The Sanskrit text is even more detailed. Both it and the Pāli text mention that perfumes, garlands, and musical instruments were brought, suggesting that these were standard items at funerals. Playing "all the musical instruments" may sound strange, and the description of singing, dancing, and music performed before the corpse may seem unbecoming at a funeral. Even today, however, Hindu funerals are characterized by the loud chanting of sacred scriptures and the playing of musical instruments; in terms of noise there is little to distinguish a funeral cortege from a wedding procession. Such a custom probably dates back to the Buddha's time. Chinese and Korean funeral traditions are close to the Indian ones in this sense, while those of Japan and Europe are subdued. The playing of music has the very real function of preventing mourners from being overcome by grief and of restoring their spirits. In Japan, some funerals of the Sōtō Zen sect, in particular, meet this need to a certain extent by allowing the striking of bells.

(16) At that time, even the rubbish heaps of Kusinārā were covered knee-deep in *mandārava* flowers. Then the *devas* and the Mallas of Kusinārā honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the body of the Venerable Master with heavenly and human dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes and carried [it] to the north of the city along the road that passes to the north, entering the city from the north gate, carried [it] to the center of the city by the road that passes through the center of the city, and went through the eastern gate to the shrine [*cetiya*] of the Mallas called Makuṭa-bandhana, east of the city, and there deposited the body of the Venerable Master."[190]

People of the time considered it a desecration or pollution to place a

corpse in or bring it through a settlement. W. Caland reported that the ancient custom was to take it to the east or the west of a village or town,[191] but later Indian texts (such as the *Laws of Manu*, V, 92) say that a corpse should be taken to the north. Here, though, the tradition is tempered by the wish of the *devas* and so can be ignored. Perhaps the passage implies that the Buddhists were in the habit of going against ancient funeral custom.

Concerning the veneration of the body, the Pāli text (VI, 16) involves both the human and the divine: "Then the *devas* and the Mallas of Kusinārā honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the body of the Venerable Master with heavenly and human dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes." The Sanskrit text, by contrast, omits the human veneration completely and attributes it entirely to the actions of the *devas*. Such an abandonment of the human aspect is a measure of the growing deification of Sakyamuni.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CREMATION

The *suttanta* states that the Buddha, while still alive, gave detailed orders about his cremation: "(10) 'Revered One, what should we do with the remains of the Tathāgata?' 'Do not concern yourselves with honoring the remains of the Tathāgata, Ānanda.[192] You should rather strive for the true goal, and practice the true goal.[193] Be earnest, be zealous, and be intent on the true goal, never flagging.[194] There are, Ānanda, wise Khattiyas, wise Brahmins, and wise householders who have a pure faith in the Tathāgata; they will honor the remains of the Tathāgata.'"[195] If we consider the Buddha's beliefs and practice, we can construe this statement as an instruction. The following passage, by comparison, was almost certainly added by a later editor to add dignity to the description of the cremation.[196]

(11) "But how, Revered One, do we deal with the Tathāgata's remains?" "You should, Ānanda, deal with the Tathāgata's remains in the same way as those of a world-ruling monarch [a wheel-rolling king]."[197]

"How, Revered One, are the remains of a world-ruling monarch dealt with?"

"Ānanda, the remains of a world-ruling monarch are wrapped in new cloth.[198] When they have been wrapped in new cloth, they are wrapped in carded cotton cloth.[199] When they have been wrapped in carded cotton cloth, they are wrapped in new cloth. In this way the remains of a world-ruling monarch are wrapped in five hundred layers of cloth.[200] Then the remains are put into an iron oil-vat, which is covered with another iron vat.[201] After a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfume is built, the remains of the world-ruling monarch are cremated.[202] Then a stupa for the world-ruling monarch is erected at a crossroads.[203] Thus, Ānanda, are the remains of a world-ruling monarch dealt with.

"In the same way, Ānanda, as with the remains of a world-ruling monarch should you deal with the remains of the Tathāgata. A stupa should be erected for the Tathāgata at a crossroads. Whoever worships there by offering garlands or perfumes or cosmetics with a pure heart and faith will reap benefits and happiness for a long time.

(12) "Ānanda, these are the four persons worthy of being honored by the erection of a stupa.[204] What are these four? People should erect a stupa to honor a Tathāgata, Arahant, and Buddha; people should erect a stupa to honor one who has enlightened himself;[205] people should erect a stupa to honor one who has practiced, having heard the teachings of the Tathāgata; and people should erect a stupa to honor a world-ruling monarch. And for what reason, Ānanda, should people erect a stupa to honor a Tathāgata, Arahant, and Buddha? At the thought, Ānanda, 'This is the stupa of the Tathāgata, the Arahant, the one who has attained true enlightenment,' the hearts of people will be purified. Having thus purified their hearts, those people, following death and the breaking up of the body, will be reborn in a good place, in a heavenly realm. This is the reason, Ānanda, that people should erect a stupa to honor a Tathāgata, Arahant, and the one who has attained true enlightenment.

"Again, Ānanda, for what reason should people erect a stupa to honor one who has enlightened himself? At the thought, 'This is the stupa of the Venerable Master,[206] one who has enlightened himself,' the hearts of people will be purified. Having thus purified their hearts, those people, following death and the breaking up of the body, will be reborn in a good place, in a heavenly realm. This is the reason, Ānanda, that people should erect a stupa to honor one who has enlightened himself.

"Again, Ānanda, for what reason should people erect a stupa to honor one who has practiced, having heard the teachings of the Tathāgata? At the thought, 'This is the stupa of one who has practiced, having heard the teachings of the Tathāgata, the Arahant, the Buddha,' the

hearts of people will be purified. Having thus purified their hearts, those people, following death and the breaking up of the body, will be reborn in a good place, in a heavenly realm. This is the reason, Ānanda, that people should erect a stupa to honor one who has practiced, having heard the teachings of the Tathāgata.

"Again, Ānanda, for what reason should people erect a stupa to honor a world-ruling monarch? At the thought, 'This is the stupa of a righteous king who observes the Dhamma,' the hearts of people will be purified. Having thus purified their hearts, those people, following death and the breaking up of the body, will be reborn in a good place, in a heavenly realm. This is the reason, Ānanda, that people should erect a stupa to honor a world-ruling monarch. These are the four persons, Ānanda, worthy of being honored by the erection of a stupa."[207]

By contrast, it is more likely that the following description was based on what actually happened.

(17) Then the Mallas of Kusinārā asked the young Ānanda: "Venerable Ānanda, how should we deal with the remains of the Tathāgata?"

"You must, Vāseṭṭhas, deal with the remains of the Tathāgata as you would those of a world-ruling monarch."

"How, Ānanda, are the remains of a world-ruling monarch dealt with?"

"Vāseṭṭhas, the remains of a world-ruling monarch are wrapped in new cloth. When they have been wrapped in new cloth, they are wrapped in carded cotton cloth. When they have been wrapped in carded cotton cloth, they are wrapped in new cloth. In this way the remains of a world-ruling monarch are wrapped in five hundred layers of cloth. Then the remains are put into an iron oil-vat, which is covered with another iron vat. After perfumed wood has been piled into a pyre, the remains of the world-ruling monarch are cremated. Then a stupa for the world-ruling monarch is erected at a crossroads. Thus, Vāseṭṭhas, are the remains of a world-ruling monarch dealt with. In the same way, Vāseṭṭhas, as the remains of a world-ruling monarch should you deal with the remains of the Tathāgata. A stupa should be erected at a crossroads for the Tathāgata. Whoever worships there by offering garlands or perfumes or cosmetics with a pure heart and faith will reap benefits and happiness for a long time."

(18) Then the Mallas of Kusinārā ordered their men to collect their

carded cotton cloth. At that time, the Mallas of Kusinārā wrapped the remains of the Venerable Master in new cloth. When they had been wrapped in new cloth, they were wrapped in carded cotton cloth. When they had been wrapped in carded cotton cloth, they were wrapped in new cloth. In this way the remains of the Venerable Master were wrapped in five hundred layers of cloth, put into an iron oil-vat, and covered with another iron vat; perfumed wood was piled into a pyre, and the remains of the Venerable Master were placed on top of the pyre."[208]

Though the description in this section (VI, 18) certainly seems exaggerated, the cremation would have followed a somewhat similar procedure. Even today in India, bodies are cremated after being wrapped in new cloth. Because a number of mythical and miraculous elements have accrued to the order of the Buddha's funeral service, it is difficult to judge how much is historical fact. All the same, I feel that the just-quoted description may have a certain resemblance to what happened. Similarly, though the myth of the wheel-rolling king developed in a later period, the funerals of kings in the Buddha's time must have been carefully performed.

MAHĀKASSAPA'S LATE ARRIVAL

All the texts treat Mahākassapa's absence from the deathbed of the Buddha as significant. The Pāli version says that Mahākassapa and his companions had been delayed:

(19) At that time the Venerable Mahākassapa was walking along the main road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a large band of five hundred *bhikkhus*.[209] Leaving the road, the Venerable Mahākassapa sat down at the foot of a tree. At that time a certain Ājīvika was walking along the road from Kusinārā to Pāvā, carrying a *mandārava* flower.[210] Seeing the Ājīvika coming in the distance, Mahākassapa said: "Do you know our master, friend?"

"Yes, friend, I know him. Seven days ago from this day, the *samaṇa* Gotama died. It is because of that that I am carrying this *mandārava* flower."[211]

It is interesting to note that the Ājīvika had honored Sakyamuni, even though he belonged to a different religious affiliation. Even today Hindu ascetics take flowers and water flasks to attend ceremonies honoring the

Buddha. It would be going too far to say that all Ājīvikas of his time esteemed the Buddha, but at the very least this episode shows that there were some who respected him as a teacher. Perhaps the Ājīvika carried the flower as a mark of mourning for the death of a great religious figure. We see here a characteristic of Indian religiosity: religious groups do not necessarily exclude people of a different affiliation.

Another point of interest is that, of all the Buddha's chief disciples besides Anuruddha, Ānanda and Mahākassapa are most prominently mentioned in connection with the Buddha's death, the latter not even present at the deathbed. Despite the different ideas held by Ānanda and Mahākassapa, they were both very close to Sakyamuni. Many paintings of the Buddha are found in the caves of Tun-huang, China, and in most cases he is portrayed flanked by those two disciples. Did the historical fact revealed in the *suttanta* continue to influence iconography right through to that time? We should also observe that Mahākassapa was leading a large band of *bhikkhus*. Ānanda, being still comparatively young, did not yet have his own followers. It is possible to conjecture that Mahākassapa taught Gotama's early thought and Ānanda transmitted his later ideas.

The *suttanta* gives further descriptions of the lamentation of the disciples: "(19 [*continued*]) And those *bhikkhus* who had not yet separated themselves from the passions stretched forth their arms and raised them, weeping, and threw themselves down like rocks, writhing and turning, saying: 'The Venerable Master has died, all too soon. The Blessed One has died, all too soon. The Eye of the World has hidden himself, all too soon.' However, the *bhikkhus* who had separated themselves from the passions patiently endured, their minds thoughtful and aware, saying: 'All things that have been made are impermanent. How can this not be?'"[212] Only one person rejoiced in the Buddha's death; even a great religious figure could not conquer the minds of all. Already a heterogeneous element had entered the Saṅgha. The Sanskrit version says, "At that time there was an old *bhikkhu* who uttered words that were not fitting for the occasion"[213] The Pāli version has, "(20) At that time sitting within the group was a *bhikkhu* who had gone into homelessness in his old age, called Subhadda.[214] That Subhadda who had gone into homelessness in his old age said to the other *bhikkhus:* 'Cease, friends, do not grieve and weep. We are well released from the Great Ascetic. We were always troubled with his remonstrances to do this or not to do that; now we can do as we please, or not do as we please.'"[215] A troublesome figure was now gone, and the *bhikkhus* said that they could breathe more easily. According to the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:189b), "Mahākāśyapa [Mahakassapa] was not happy to hear these words."

According to the Pāli version, it was Subhadda who criticized the Buddha, yet it was hardly possible that the Subhadda who had been ordained at Sakyamuni's deathbed could have criticized his master, uttering the words just reported. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching,* in fact, transliterates the last disciple Subhadda as "Hsü-pa," and describes the critical one as a member of the Śākya clan called T'an-t'ou.[216]

This criticism doubtless occurred. It is unlikely that the compiler of the *suttanta,* anxious to revere the founder of Buddhism, would willingly have included such an irreverent passage. The incident was so striking, however, that he was unable to discard it. That it was transmitted shows two things. First, Gotama was a prudent man who set in place meticulous standards governing the behavior of his followers. Though the systematic precepts and regulations of later times did not yet exist, the Buddha must have outlined a considerable number of prohibitions as occasions arose. Second, some of the newer disciples were not happy with those prohibitions, implying that the danger of schism was present from very early times.

Mahākassapa did not reprimand Subhadda but, turning to the disciples, told them to be calm and to stop their weeping. "Then the Venerable Mahākassapa said to the *bhikkhus:* 'Cease, friends, do not grieve and weep. Has not the Venerable Master already told you that all things that are beloved and delightful are subject to separation by birth and death, and that after death their state is of another order? How can this be? Whatever is born, whatever exists, whatever is made is subject to decay; there is no law that says what is subject to decay does not decay.'"[217]

THE CREMATION

The *suttanta* records in detail the proceedings of the cremation:[218]

(21) Then the four chiefs of the Mallas, having washed their heads by putting their heads in the water, and having put on new robes, thought: "Now we will light the funeral pyre of the Venerable Master," but they were not able to do so.[219] Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the Venerable Anuruddha: "Anuruddha, the four chiefs of the Mallas, having washed their heads by putting their heads in the water, and having put on new robes, thought: 'Now we will light the funeral pyre

of the Venerable Master,' but they were not able to do so. What is the reason for this, Venerable One?"

"Vāseṭṭhas, your intention and the intention of the *devas* are different."

"But, Venerable One, what kind of thing is the intention of the *devas?*"

"Vāseṭṭhas, the intention of the *devas* is this. The Venerable Mahākassapa is walking along the main road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a large band of five hundred *bhikkhus.* The funeral pyre of the Venerable Master will not be lit until Mahākassapa has revered the Venerable Master by placing his head at the [Buddha's] feet."

"Venerable One, we will act according to the intention of the *devas.*"

(22) Then the Venerable Mahākassapa went to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuṭa-bandhana in Kusinārā to the funeral pyre of the Venerable Master. There he [bared his right shoulder,] covered his [left] shoulder with his robe,[220] placed the palms of his hands together, circumambulated the pyre three times with his right shoulder facing the pyre, and, uncovering the feet of the Venerable Master, revered him by placing his head on them.

The five hundred *bhikkhus,* too, covered their shoulders with their robes, placed the palms of their hands together, circumambulated the pyre three times with their right shoulders facing the pyre, and revered the Venerable Master by placing their heads on his feet. When Mahākassapa and the five hundred *bhikkhus* finished thus revering the Venerable Master, the Venerable Master's funeral pyre ignited of itself.

(23) When the Venerable Master's body was burned, only the bones were left;[221] the top layer of the skin, the under layer, flesh, sinews, and joint fluid all having been consumed so that not even the ash of their cinders remained. Just as when butter or oil is burned, no soot or ashes remain, so when the body of the Venerable Master was burned, only the bones were left; the top layer of the skin, the under layer, flesh, sinews, and joint fluid all having been consumed so that not even the ash of their cinders remained. And of all the five hundred robes, only the outermost and the innermost were burned.

When the Venerable Master's body had been cremated, a stream of water appeared in the sky and fell, extinguishing the funeral pyre of the Venerable Master, and a stream of water gushed forth from a storehouse of water[222] [beneath the earth], extinguishing the funeral pyre of the Venerable Master. The Mallas of Kusinārā extinguished the funeral pyre of the Venerable Master with perfumed water of various kinds.

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā honored, esteemed, worshiped, and venerated the bones of the Venerable Master with dance, song, music, garlands, and perfumes for seven days in their meeting hall, having made a lattice of spears and encircled it with a wall of bows.[223]

Because the funeral proceedings were held at the Mallas' shrine (*Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ*) and at their meeting hall (*agrāgāre mahāmaṇḍale*),[224] their best hall, it had the status of an official public event. According to the Sanskrit text, though, the cremated remains were placed "in a golden flask on a golden funerary stand."[225] Since this statement does not appear in the Pāli text, it is clearly a later embellishment.

One and a half kilometers east of the Nirvāṇa Stūpa at Kuśinagar, at a place known as Ramabhar, there is a large mound, only partly excavated, which is thought to have been the stupa built on the site of the Buddha's funeral pyre. Formerly covered with grass and trees, it was cleared in 1956 at the time of the anniversary celebrations of the Buddha's birth. When I visited it that year, I found the mound covered with bricks. We could scramble over it, but the bricks would crumble and fall off. I felt there was a pressing need to do something to preserve it. From the top of the mound I could see an empty chamber, without a ceiling. By the time of my next visit in 1976, though, the whole area had been made into a park and the mound was surrounded by a fence. This seems to have minimized the likelihood of further disintegration.

The Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (VI, 17) states that the cremated remains of a Tathāgata, like those of a universal monarch, should be placed within a stupa (large mound) erected at a crossroads. It seems unlikely that such a large mound could have been built within the week before Mahākassapa arrived, so it is very probable that the mound was erected later, followed by the development of the legend. Today a fine road surrounds the mound.

Distribution and Veneration of the Relics

Dispute over the Relics

There followed a dispute between several tribes over the disposal of the relics.[226] According to the Pāli text, King Ajātasattu (Ajātaśatru) of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu, the Bulis of

Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a Brahmin of Veṭhadīpa (Veṭha Island),[227] and the Mallas of Pāvā, hearing that Sakyamuni had died in Kusinārā, sent messengers to the Mallas of Kusinārā.[228]

(24) And Ajātasattu, king of Magadha and son of the daughter of the king of Vedeha, heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then Ajātasattu, king of Magadha and son of the daughter of the king of Vedeha, sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and I am a Khattiya. I am worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. I will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and I will venerate them there."

The Licchavis of Vesālī heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then the Licchavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there."

The Sakyas of Kapilavatthu heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā.[229] Then the Sakyas of Kapilavatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was the greatest of our clan. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there."

Then the Bulis of Allakappa heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there."

The Koliyas of Rāmagāma heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then the Koliyas of Rāmagāma sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there."

A Brahmin of Veṭhadīpa heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā.[230] Then the Brahmin of Veṭhadīpa sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and I am a Brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master.[231] I will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and I will venerate them there."

The Mallas of Pāvā heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying: "The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there."[232]

These seven supplicants all sent messengers to the Mallas of Kusinārā, pleading their suitability to receive a portion of the relics and promising to erect stupas to house them. The grounds for suitability were for the most part based on shared Khattiya status, on a clan relationship (the Sakyas), or on eligibility as a Brahmin. The Buddha's death had a considerable impact among the people of eastern India. It is said that King Ajātasattu repented his past misdeeds when he heard of the Buddha's death.[233] The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts describe the unusual zeal with which Ajātasattu prepared to receive the relics. He ordered his Brahmin minister Varṣākāra (Varṣākāro brāhmaṇa-Magadha-mahāmātro) to go with the army to Kuśinagarī to take possession of the relics.[234]

The names of the groups that wanted portions of the relics are mentioned in the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, etc., but they are lacking in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*.[235]

The Mallas of Kusinārā maintained firmly that they would not give up the relics: "(25) On hearing these things, the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the assembled people:[236] 'The Venerable Master died in our territory. We will not give away any portion of his remains.'"[237]

DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELICS AND STUPA VENERATION

When a dispute broke out, a man appeared to mediate the situation, telling the crowd that there should be no conflict among the followers of the Buddha. The Pāli text gives his name as the Brahmin Doṇa.

(25) Listen, all of you, to one single word from me. Our Buddha was the teacher of forbearance."[238]
It is wrong that conflict should arise over the distribution of the relics of the best of men.[239]

Let us all come together in amity and joyfully distribute the eight [portions].
Let stupas be erected far and wide, so that all people may believe in the One with Vision [the Buddha].[240]

Thus a compromise was reached—to divide the relics into eight portions:[241] "(25 [*continued*]) 'Well then, Brahmin, you divide the relics of the Venerable Master into eight, and distribute them well and fairly.' 'Very well,' replied Brahmin Doṇa to the assembled people, and he divided the relics of the Venerable Master into eight, and distributed them well and fairly, and then said to the people assembled: 'Give me that urn [which had contained the relics], I beg of you, and I will erect a stupa for it and venerate it.' They gave Doṇa the Brahmin the urn."[242] Just then the Moriyas of Pipphalivana arrived and requested a portion of the relics,[243] but because the distribution was complete, they were given the ashes. "(26) The Moriyas of Pipphalivana heard that the Venerable Master had passed away at Kusinārā. Then the Moriyas of Pipphalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kusinārā saying: 'The Venerable Master was a Khattiya, and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a portion of the bones [relics] of the Venerable Master. We will build a stupa in which to deposit them, and we will venerate them there.' 'No portion of the Venerable Master's bones are left. The bones of the Venerable Master have already been distributed. Take, therefore, the ashes.' And so they took the ashes and left."[244] Thus ten stupas were built in all: the eight stupas housing the eight portions (*sarīrathūpa*) distributed among the various tribes; the stupa for the urn in which the relics had been collected (*kumbhathūpa*), which was erected by the Brahmin Doṇa; and the stupa for the ashes (*aṅgārathūpa*) at Pipphalivana. The stupa for the ashes is still venerated as a sacred place; it was there that the rulers of the Malla dynasty held their coronations.

(27)[245] Then Ajātasattu, king of Magadha and son of the daughter of the king of Vedeha, built a stupa in Magadha for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Licchavis of Vesālī built a stupa in Vesālī for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Sakyas of Kapilavatthu built a stupa in Kapilavatthu for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Bulis of Allakappa built a stupa in Allakappa for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Koliyas of Rāmagāma built a stupa in Rāmagāma for the relics of the

Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration.[246] The Brahmins of Veṭhadīpa built a stupa in Veṭhadīpa for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Mallas of Pāvā built a stupa in Pāvā for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Mallas of Kusinārā built a stupa in Kusinārā for the relics of the Venerable Master, and held a feast in celebration. The Brahmin Doṇa built a stupa for the urn of relics, and held a feast in celebration. The Moriyas of Pipphalivana built a stupa in Pipphalivana for the [Master's] ashes, and held a feast in celebration. Thus eight stupas were built for the relics, the ninth stupa was built for the urn, and the tenth stupa was built for the ashes. This is what happened [in times of old].[247]

The various versions of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* end with the following verse,[248] though they are not consistent with the transmission just quoted.

(28) Eight portions were there of the relics of the One with Vision.[249]
Seven portions of them are venerated in India [Jambudīpa].[250]
The other portion [of the relics] of the best of men [the Buddha] are venerated by the *nāga* kings in Rāmagāma.
One tooth is venerated in the heaven of thirty-three deities;
Another is venerated in the city of Gandhāra.[251]
Yet another tooth is venerated in the realm of King Kāliṅga.[252]
And another tooth is venerated by the *nāga* kings.
Through their radiance, the earth is made bountiful, ornamented by the supreme objects of veneration.
Thus the relics of the One with Vision [the Buddha] are well honored by those who are honored,
They are thus venerated by *deva* kings, *nāga* kings, human kings, and the greatest of all people.
Place the palms of your hands together and venerate them.
Rare indeed it is to meet a Buddha even in a hundred *kappas*.[253]

Here we have an extremely mythical explanation of the relics.

According to the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, the "Brahmin called Dhūmra [*dhūmrasagotro brāhmaṇaḥ*] divided the relics of the Venerable Master into eight portions." The first portion was given to the Mallas of Kuśināgarā, the second to the Mallas of Pāpā, the third to the Bulakas of Calakalpa, the fourth to the Brahmins of Viṣṇu Island, the fifth to the

Kraudyas of Rāmagrāma, the sixth to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, and the seventh to the Śākyas of Kāpilavāstu.[254] Each of these tribes built a stupa to venerate the relics. The eighth portion was given to Varṣākāra, a Brahmin councilor [of the king] in Magadha,[255] for which King Ajātaśatru built a stupa in Rājagṛha. And "the jar which had contained the relics, which had been thrown away, was given to a Brahmin called Dhūmra, and he built the 'stupa for the urn of relics' [*kumbhastūpa*] in Droṇagrāmaka to venerate it."[256] Also, a student called Pippalāyana (Pippalāyano māṇavaḥ) requested a portion of the relics, but the Mallas of Kuśināgarā gave him the ashes. Thus there were ten places of veneration—the eight relic stupas (*śarīrastūpa*), the stupa for the urn of relics, and the stupa for the ashes (*aṅgārastūpa*). In the verse quoted in the texts, however, there were seven places of veneration in India (Jambudvīpa), one cared for by Droṇa and "venerated by the Nāga king of Rāmagrāma."

The Sarvāstivādin text, translated as the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, is virtually identical to the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. Because the various texts record very different information, it is difficult to discover the historical facts underlying their descriptions. At the very least, however, the relics were distributed in some form or other. Nevertheless, several weeks must have been required for the news of Sakyamuni's death to reach Magadha and for a messenger to be sent to Kuśinagarī requesting the relics. It is also very likely that the recipients of the relics returned to their homelands and deposited them in stupas built for the purpose. Later legend relates that Aśoka retrieved the relics from the various stupas and had them redistributed among eighty-four thousand stupas.[257] The recipients of the eight portions of the relics as they are recorded in the various texts appear in table 3.

The various traditions do not agree on the number of relic stupas that were erected. The *Yu-hsing-ching* and the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* state that there were ten; while the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Ta-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, as quoted in the *Shih-chia-p'u*, fasc. 4, give eleven.[258] The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* seems to state that there were eleven, but it is ambiguous.

The distribution of the relics and the erection of stupas are themes often represented in Buddhist art of later times.[259]

DISCOVERY OF THE RELICS

In 1898 the Englishman William C. Peppé, on his estate at Piprāhwā near the Nepalese border in India, excavated an ancient stupa, in which

Table 3. Recipients of the eight portions of the relics as recorded in the various texts.

Pāli text (VI, 27)	Sanskrit text (LI, 9–6)	*Pan-ni-yüan-ching*	*Yu-hsing-ching*
8) Kosinārakā Mallā (Kusinārāyaṃ)	1) Kauśināgarā Mallāḥ	6) 拘夷王、拘夷国人 (King of Kuśinagarī, the people of Kuśinagarī)	1) 拘尸国 (country of Chü-shih)
7) Pāveyyakā Mallā (Pāvāyaṃ)	2) Pāpīyakā Mallāḥ	1) 波旬国諸華氏 (the Mallas of Pāpā)	2) 波婆国人 (people of the country of Po-p'o)
4) Allakappakā Bulayo (Allakappe)	3) Calakalpakā Bulakāḥ	3) 有衡国諸満離 (the Bulis of Calakalpaka)	3) 遮羅国 (country of Calakalpa)
6) Veṭhadīpako brāhmaṇo (Veṭhadīpe)	4) Viṣṇudvīpīyakā brāhmaṇāḥ	4) 神州国諸梵志 (Brahmins of Viṣṇudvīpa)	5) 毘留提国 (country of Veṭhadīpaka)
5) Rāmagāmakā Koliyā (Rāmagāme)	5) Rāmagrāmīyakāḥ Krauḍyāḥ	2) 可楽国諸拘鄰 (Krauḍyas of Rāmagrāma)	4) 羅摩伽摩国 (country of Rāmagrāmaka)
2) Vesālikā Licchavī (Vesāliyaṃ)	6) Vaiśālakā Licchavayaḥ	5) 維那国諸離揵 (the Licchavis of Vaiśālī)	7) 毘舎離国 (country of Vaiśālī)
3) Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā (Kapilavatthusmiṃ)	7) Kāpilavāstavyāḥ Śākyāḥ	7) 赤沢国諸釈氏 (the Śākyas of Kapilavastu)	6) 迦維羅衛国 (country of Kapilavastu)
1) Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto (Rājagahe)	8) Rājā Māgadho 'jātaśatruḥ Vaidehīputraḥ	8) 摩竭王阿闍世 (King Ajataśatru of Magadha)	8) 摩竭国阿闍世王 (King Ajataśatru of Magadha)
9) Doṇo brāhmaṇo (kumbhassa thūpaṃ akāsi)	9) Dhūmrasagotro brāhmaṇaḥ (kumbhastūpaṃ pratiṣṭhā-payati)	9) 梵志毛蹶 (Brahmin Doṇa)	9) 香姓婆羅門 (Brahmin Hsiang-hsing)
10) Pipphalivaniyā Moriyā (Pipphavane aṅgārānaṃ thūpaṃ akaṃsu)	10) Pippalāyano māṇavaḥ (aṅgārastūpaṃ pratiṣṭhā-payati)	10) 梵志温違 (Brahmin Moriya?)	10) 畢鉢村人 (Pi-po ts'un-jen; a man from Pi-po Village), 燋炭 (Chiao-t'an)

he found a relic urn.[260] Brāhmī letters from several centuries B.C.E. engraved on it stated that it contained the relics of Sakymuni.[261] We can regard the relics as those of Gotama Buddha, whose historicity they verified. The relics within were presented to the king of Siam (Thailand); in 1900 a small portion was donated to the Buddhists of Japan. (They are at present enshrined at the Nittai-ji temple in Nagoya under the care of the heads of nineteen different sects in an alternating system.) The talc stone urn (about 51 1/2 in. x 31 3/4 in. x 26 in.; lid, 5 in. in height) is in the Indian National Museum in Calcutta.[262] It is not on general display, but is guarded in a special room whose key is in the possession of the museum's director.

Peppé's Birdpur Estate is near the village of Piprāhwā in the Bastī district,[263] about a half mile south of Pillar 44 on the India-Nepal border and some ten miles southeast of Kapilavastu. The relics were discovered in a mound (stupa) 116 feet in diameter, which is a little smaller than the great stupas of Bhaṭṭiprolu and Amarāvatī, which measure 138 feet in diameter. The stupa was constructed of layers of brick and clay mortar piled toward the center. In early January 1898, a soapstone (steatite) vase was discovered ten feet from the top. The interior was filled with clay, in which were found beads, crystals, gold ornaments, cut stars, and so on. At the same depth was a circular pipe; it was filled with clay and surrounded by brickwork that had characteristics of the Aśokan period. Approximately 1 foot in diameter, it descended for 2 feet and then narrowed to 4 inches. Some of the bricks in the surrounding brickwork had been cast in a mold; some were quite rough. Beneath eighteen feet of brickwork a large slab of stone was found lying due north and due south 31 1/2 inches east of the center of the aforementioned pipe. This slab was a lid for a sandstone coffer measuring 4 feet 4 inches x 2 feet 8 1/4 inches x 2 feet 2 1/4 inches. The lid fit the coffer tightly. Within the coffer the following items were found:

- A soapstone vase 6 inches high and 4 inches in diameter
- A soapstone vase 7 inches high and 4 1/2 inches in diameter
- A soapstone vessel 5 1/2 inches high and 5 1/2 inches in diameter
- A small soapstone box 1 1/2 inches high and 3 3/4 inches in diameter
- A lidded crystal bowl 3 1/2 inches high and 3 1/4 inches in diameter, with a hollow fish-shaped handle

Chisel marks on the sandstone vases are so sharply defined that they look new. The crystal bowl is highly polished and at first glance seems to be a modern glass utensil. There appear to have been wooden vessels, too, but only small fragments of them remain. The coffer in which they were found is made of good-quality solid soapstone; carving it out of a solid block of stone must have involved enormous labor and expense. This stone did not come from the uplands of northern Nepal. The lid weighs 408 pounds; coffer and lid together weigh 1,537 pounds.

Brickwork continued for two feet below the bottom of the coffer. The height of the stupa is 21 1/2 feet from the base of the brickwork to the summit. The relic urns contained bone fragments, easily recognizable and appearing very recently interred. The only inscription, however, was on the lid of the smaller jar. Several hundred items were found in the coffer, including two seals (perhaps coins) with swastika marks, a carving of an elephant, a small human figure, a carving of a bird, and a number of jewels. The inscription reads:

> *Sukiti-bhatinaṃ sabhaginikanaṃ saputa-dalanaṃ*
> *iyaṃ salila-nidhane Budhasa bhagavate sakiyanaṃ*

(This is the container of the relics of the Buddha, the World-honored One of the Śākyas; and was [the donation of] the honorable brothers and their sisters, and their wives and children.)

Scholars have translated this inscription in various ways:[264]

> This is a deposit of relics of the brethren of Sukiti, kinsmen of Buddha the Blessed One, with their sisters, with their children and wives.

> Ce dépôt de reliques du bienheureux Bouddha [de la race] des Śākyas est [l'œuvre pieuse] de Sukiti et de ses frères, avec leurs sœurs, leurs fils et leurs femmes.

> Ce dépôt de reliques du Saint Buddha des Çākyas est [l'œuvre pieuse] des frères de Sukīrti, conjointement avec leurs sœurs, avec leurs fils et leurs femmes.

> C'est ici les reliques des Çākyas, frères bienheureux du saint Bouddha, avec leurs sœurs, leurs fils et leurs femmes.

The letters in the inscription above are similar to those of the Aśoka inscription at Rummindei nearby, except that diacritical marks for long vowels are missing and *l* is used instead of *r*, as in the Māgadhī language. Most scholars agree that the inscription is pre-Aśokan. The rhyme form is considered to be *udgīti*.

We do not know who is meant by Sukiti (Skt., Sukīrti). It is the name of one of the buddhas of the past under whom Sakyamuni is said to have studied,[265] but this is irrelevant to the present discussion. Fleet thought that Sukīrti might refer to Mahānāma, the grandfather of Viḍūḍabha.[266] Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang reported that the bones of the massacred Śākyas had been collected and buried. S. Lévi believed that *sukiti* was a common noun meaning "honorable" or "blessed."

More important is that both Fleet and Lévi believed that the remains belonged to the Śākyas, not to Gotama himself. On the other hand, Senart and Barth thought the relics were those of Sakyamuni. The key lies in the interpretation of the words *Budhasa bhagavate sakiyanaṃ*. I myself have no objection to translating them as "of the Buddha, the World-honored One of the Śākyas," since there are examples among later Indian inscriptions of a person's clan name being expressed in the plural genitive case. It is therefore acceptable to regard the relics as those of the historical figure of Gotama Buddha.[267]

The Historicity of Gotama Buddha

AN OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH INTO THE BUDDHA'S DATES

In volume 1 of *Gotama Buddha* I examined the problems related to the date of the Buddha's birth. Here I would like to expand the discussion by quoting material covered in a relevant section of my *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Biographical Notes*:[268]

We will now give our attention to studies in Indian Buddhism, in particular those by Japanese scholars. The questions of how long Buddhism has existed and of Gotama Buddha's dates have been discussed from a variety of viewpoints, and there are different opinions even among Buddhists themselves.[269] All southern Buddhists celebrated the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of Sakyamuni's *nibbāna* in 1956; various festivals and celebrations were held in Sri Lanka, India, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, and other countries of the region. Many of them were sponsored by the respective governments; members of the Saṅgha officiated formally at the events. There is no such agreement in the Buddhist countries of northern Asia. Most Western scholars reject the Sri Lankan tradition that the Buddha died in the year 544 B.C.E. (the date by which the anniversary of 1956 was calculated), since the attribution cannot be traced much beyond the middle of the eleventh century.[270] This date is also incompatible with the chronology of the kings of Magadha. Southern Buddhists claim the authenticity of their dating by referring to the tradition that the *bhikkhus* placed a dot in the *vinaya* at the end of each rainy-season retreat (*vassa*); they assert that this was done without fail each year and so constitutes a reliable chronological record, free from error.

Nevertheless, there remains ample room for doubt. A similar tradition was brought to China by Saṅghabhadra in 489; he, too, claimed that *bhikkhus* in India had added a dot to the record in the *Vinaya* following the annual rainy-season retreat, but the number that he transmitted was 975—which would mean that the Buddha died in the year 486 B.C.E. (and was born in 566 B.C.E.).[271] W. Pachow's studies of the *chung-sheng-tien-chi* (dotted record) indicate that the Buddha died in 483 B.C.E.; this dating agrees with the calculations of W. Geiger based on the Pāli chronicles.[272]

The tradition brought by Saṅghabhadra is considered much more reliable than that of the southern Buddhists because of its comparative antiquity. Thus a large number of Japanese Buddhists followed the scholar Junjirō Takakusu in adopting the Saṅghabhadra tradition, and celebrated the twenty-five hundredth anniversary of the Buddha in 1932. The Jōdo, Jōdo Shin, and Nichiren sects did not, however, join in these celebrations officially, because their founders Hōnen, Shinran, and Nichiren had all accepted the tradition that the Buddha had died in 949 B.C.E. (a date determined by the Chinese priest Fo-lin [572–640]). Today, though, almost no one, even members of those sects, takes seriously the traditional dating.

Hakuju Ui determined that the Buddha's dates were 466–386 B.C.E., based on a study of traditions contained in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese texts (for example, the *Samayabheda-uparacana-cakra*). His calculations centered on the dates of Aśoka's reign; because recent research has altered those dates slightly, I have revised the Buddha's dates to 463–383, following Ui's thesis and incorporating new evidence about Aśoka's dates derived from Hellenic studies.[273]

The research of Genmyō Ono and Hakuju Ui has influenced the work of Chinese scholars. Yin-shun, a Taiwanese scholar and priest, has criticized the dates adopted by Western and South Asian scholars and has set the date of the Buddha's death at 390 B.C.E. His thesis is very similar to Ui's.[274]

Maurice Winternitz represents the more moderate strand of European scholarship when he states: "When we take into consideration that there is sufficient evidence to show that the Buddha was a contemporary of

King[s] Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, whom we can place with a fair degree of certainty in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., then we are at least justified in saying that the best working hypothesis is to place the life of Buddha into this period also."[275] However, here we find ourselves in the awkward position of being unable to calculate the dates of the various kings unless we know the dates of the Buddha.

H. Jacobi gave weight to the southern tradition in determining 484 B.C.E. as the year of the Buddha's death, and his views were accepted by the Japanese scholar Yenshō Kanakura.[276] Kōgen Mizuno, too, doubting the reliability of the northern legend that Aśoka was born about one hundred years after the Buddha's death, also adopted the southern tradition.[277]

All the same, representatives of Japanese Buddhists took part in the anniversary celebrations of 1956. A second anniversary, sponsored by the Japanese government, was held in Japan in 1959 to promote friendship with Asian Buddhists. This does not mean, however, that the Japanese have adopted the Sri Lankan chronology. Sri Lanka possesses a number of chronicles important for the study of Indian history and Indian Buddhist history.[278] Japanese scholars have also studied Jain sources and other non-Buddhist material and compared them closely with Buddhist texts to highlight the social and historical background of early Buddhism. Such studies have shown the importance of merchants and craftsmen in the rise of Buddhism (as indeed they were also in early Christianity) and have clarified their actual roles.[279] Important among those roles were the *gahapati,* a property owner and community leader, and the *śreṣṭhin,* the head of a guild (somewhat similar to the English alderman).[280] Another important point of consideration here is that Buddhism was transmitted along trade routes.[281]

In recent years widespread interest in the question of the Buddha's dates inspired an international conference on the subject; the proceedings of this conference have been published.[282]

THE CHARACTER OF GOTAMA

Nothing in the sutras tells us what the Buddha looked like. Was he tall or short? Did he shave his head or wear his hair close cropped? What was the color of his skin? What color were his eyes? There are no answers to these questions. The figure we see in statues was the conception of people

of a much later period. Although we know nothing about the Buddha's appearance, we can glean a good deal about his character from the sutras.

Throughout his life, Gotama neither bewitched people by his words nor forced them to adopt his beliefs. He did not inflate his own importance by saying that unless people followed him they could not be saved. Indeed, it is difficult to see in him the characteristics traditionally ascribed to the founder of a religion. He did not become angry in the face of heresy, but maintained a tranquillity of mind almost to the point of monotony, and taught people quietly and charitably. His was an engaging and accessible personality. The *Dīgha-Nikāya* tells us, "The *samaṇa* Gotama is truly a man who says, 'Come with me,' and 'I am glad you have come.' He speaks with affectionate words, he approaches others with joy, he does not scowl, his visage is always bright, and he is always the first to offer greetings."[283] He spoke clearly and could be heard easily. His attitude was the same, whether what he had to say was trivial or very important. Open-minded, he could even accept heresy calmly.

The warmth of Sakyamuni's personality is described vividly in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta,* as well as in many other sutras.[284] Unlike many other founders of universal religions, he neither harmed others for their beliefs nor suffered persecution for his own. In political terms he was an onlooker, one who delighted in the quietness of a transcendentally indifferent mind (*upekṣā*).

A later text says that Gotama was born into the *khattiya* caste, and praised his refinement: "Friend, the Tathāgata is adorned with the refinement of one born into the warrior caste [*khattiyasukhumāla*], he is adorned with the refinement of a Buddha, he is adorned with great supranatural power. When he was invited by the Brahmin Verañjā and stayed [with him] three months, he was tempted by Māra and did not receive food any day. However, having abandoned all greed, he survived for three months on the dust of a root and on water, and went nowhere else. This shows how small are the desires of the Tathāgata."[285] It is worth noting that the Khattiyas were considered not merely warriors but also highly educated administrators. Perhaps there is a parallel here with the early samurai warriors of Japan and their descendants of later centuries who made up an educated administrative class.

Occasionally the historical Gotama Buddha caused friction through his impetuosity. A rare example[286] is when he entered the meeting hall[287]

from the front door and thereby evoked much criticism.[288] When he was approaching death, he showed irritation when something did not please him. The *bhikkhu* Upavāṇa was standing in front of him, fanning him, but Sakaymuni had him move, saying: "Move aside, *bhikkhu*, do not stand in front of me." Whether the Buddha would exhibit the short temper of an ordinary being became a much discussed topic among scholars; indeed the sutra itself added an explanatory passage. If we consider his action to be a reflection of Gotama the man, however, there can be no problem about interpretation; here we simply see his human face.

Gotama was gentle with his followers, full of warmth and affection for them. We hear no instance of his reprimanding a disciple and sending him away. He nursed his followers when they were ill. There is no legend about any of the disciples betraying the Master. He was on terms of friendship with them all. Nor did Gotama strive to increase his following. He tried rather to teach those who loved and respected him to attain enlightenment. That Buddhism was able in later times to reach across the world and warm people's hearts was due largely to the personality and character of its founder. The Buddha's personality has, I feel, remained a characteristic of Buddhism throughout its history.

Although some scholars think that the life of Gotama Buddha should be understood as an extension of the social custom of the four periods of human life laid down in Brahmanism,[289] I think rather that in Buddhism it was the period of wandering (*parivrājaka*) that was universalized and expanded to form the later monastic system by which Buddhism has come to be known.

PART THREE

The Deification of Gotama the Man

10. Venerated as a Human Being

As the Buddhist Saṅgha grew and changed, the image of the founder it venerated also grew and changed. Gotama was called the Buddha ("Enlightened One") because he had realized eternal Truth (the Dharma); by this reckoning, all who realize the Truth must equally be buddhas. The designation "buddha" implies neither a supernatural existence nor a mysterious being. It does not suggest that such a person might be some kind of transcendental deity.

The early Buddhist sutras show considerable differences between their earlier and later strata. The earliest stratum of texts treats Gotama simply as a superb human being, one who is addressed by the deities in the second person.[1] It is very hard to view the Buddha portrayed in the *Suttanipāta* as just a religious figure or a philosopher; we must also regard him as a man. In general, Buddhists of later times called Gotama "Sakyamuni"; in the earliest period, though, his disciples addressed him as "Sakka."[2] This informal style of address appears only in verse; it is found nowhere in prose. It seems, therefore, that early Buddhists thought of Gotama primarily in terms of his membership of the Sakya clan.[3]

Opponents or nonbelievers called the Buddha "the *samaṇa* Gotama," that is, the ascetic Gotama.[4] In ancient verse, however, Sakyamuni was addressed without any honorifics, merely as "Gotama."[5] Not only did lay believers speak to him in this way;[6] we can also find examples of ordained disciples using the same form of address.[7] Brahmins,[8] and occasionally Brahmins who had taken refuge in the Buddha,[9] addressed him politely, using "bho Gotama." Brahmins also seem to have called his disciples simply "Gotama."[10] The expression "Gotama Buddha" appears relatively late

in verse.[11] In the eyes of later Buddhists, addressing the Buddha merely as "Gotama" without any title showed a lack of respect.

In another example of ancient verse,[12] a Brahmin youth and a *bhikkhu* address Gotama as *mārisa*.[13] This is almost the same as *mādisa*, which is equivalent to the Sanskrit *mādṛśa*, meaning "a person the same as myself." In using this form the Brahmin youth was addressing Gotama as a close friend; there is no sense here of any move toward deification. Ordinary people tended to call Gotama *bhikkhu* ("alms-seeking monk"), regarding him as an ascetic undertaking meditation alone in the forest. Ancient verse also contains instances of Brahmanical terms being used as forms of address.[14] For example, the title *brāhmaṇa* was often given to a wise person or to one who had perfected his training.[15] Though Gotama Buddha was doubtless such a person, the term never has this sense in the prose sections. In the earliest period of Buddhism, Brahmins were highly respected by all sectors of society. The followers of Buddhism also acknowledged this fact, so the term *brāhmaṇa* appears in the oldest texts. As Buddhism grew and gained power, however, Buddhist monks came to be venerated above Brahmins, so there was no longer any need to refer to a perfected person as a *brāhmaṇa*. In the early days of Jainism as well, a true practitioner was called a *māhaṇa*.[16] In fact, instances of "Brahmin" used as an epithet for the ideal practitioner in both Buddhist and Jain poetry is believed to predate the Aśokan period, for the Aśokan edicts show clearly that Buddhism and Jainism were by then distinguished from Brahmanism.

Another term used to describe a practitioner of Buddhism in the early period was *isi;* for example, *isi* was used in ancient verse to refer to buddhas in general.[17] In a large number of cases, the Buddha or Gotama is called *mahesi* ("great sage").[18] Ancient Jain verse, too, follows similar usage, referring to those perfected in practice as *mahesi*.[19] Though Gotama was called "*deva*-seer" (*devisi* = *devarṣi*) in the most ancient texts,[20] this term seems to mean a seer who can be ranked among the *devas*, or a *deva*-like seer. Such usages confirm that in the earliest period, followers of both Buddhism and Jainism viewed their founders as *mahesi* in the Brahmanical sense.

With the growth of the idea of the seven buddhas of the past (that Sakyamuni was the seventh in a line of past buddhas), Gotama was called the "seventh great sage from among the sages," and addressed as "the seventh sage."[21] In India since the time of the *Ṛg Veda*, seven sages (*vipra*) were believed to have existed. Who these seven were varies with tradition,[22] but the idea of seven remained firm. Even in later times people tended to associate the number seven with the word "sage"; Buddhism probably inherited this thinking. However, with the Buddha's gradual deification, Buddhists preferred not to call him a sage; we find many cases where the term *mahesi* in the verse has been replaced with *bhagavant* in the prose sections of the sutras.[23]

Like other religious leaders of the time, Gotama was also called *muni*, as in Sakyamuni, "sage of the Sakya clan," or *mahāmuni*, "great sage."[24] This usage was extended to those who were his disciples.[25] *Muni* is a noun derived from a root that means "to consider"; it referred originally to a wise man or sage.[26] *Muni* is used in this sense in Brahmanical and Jain texts; the Jain usage of *mahāmuni*[27] to refer to sages, in particular to its founder Mahāvīra, was taken over by Buddhism. Following the popular derivation, however, Buddhists probably believed that a sage (*muni*) was so called because he preserved silence (*mauna*). There are cases where *muni* is interpreted adverbially to mean "preserving silence and not performing evil."[28]

Another epithet widely used in the Buddha's time was *vedagū*, meaning "one with a knowledge of the Vedic texts," "one who knows the Vedas," or "one skilled in the Vedas."[29] We find many instances of *vedagū*'s being used to refer to Gotama or to those perfected in practice.[30] Other epithets include *viditaveda* ("one who knows the Vedas") and *tevijja* ("having the three *vijjas*"), one who possesses the three forms of knowledge.[31] The three forms of knowledge are usually interpreted as the ability to know the former lives of oneself and others (Pāli, *pubbenivāsānussati-ñāṇa*), the ability to see anything at any distance (*sattānaṃ cutūpapāta-ñāṇa*), and the ability to destroy the defilements (*āsavānaṃ khaye ñāṇa*). In the early stages of Buddhism, however, they more probably referred to the three Vedas, since early texts refer to a Brahmin proficient in the three Vedas as *tevijja*. The Buddha and other accomplished people were also called *brahmapatta* ("one who knows Brahmā") or *nahātaka* (= *snātaka*, "a youth who has completed his studies as a Brahmin, who has bathed, and who has returned home").[32] Another form of the latter is *brahmabhūta* ("he who has become a Brahmā"). Figures respected in Brahmanism, such as the Vedic scholar (*śrotiya*) and the religious wanderer (*parivrājaka*),[33] were described in ancient Buddhist verse as people who had pursued religious training and who could manifest the virtues emanating from that training. The prose sections of sutras composed after the expansion of Buddhism, however, lack such explanations.

A further Brahmanical influence was the application of the special

family name Aṅgīrasa to Gotama. When Gotama is addressed in verse he is often called Aṅgīrasa, meaning "shining one":[34]

> (12) Then the lay believer Candanangalika, before the Venerable Master, spoke praise in suitable verse:
>
> "The sweet-smelling red lotus
> Opens in the early morn,
> Its perfume unspent.
> Behold the radiance of the Aṅgīrasa [Buddha],
> Like the sun lighting up the heavens."[35]

In the *Ṛg Veda, aṅgiras* denoted beings midway between the realms of human beings and *devas*, and which mediated between them. It included beings such as heavenly children, human ancestors, and those people who shared and conferred the blessings of the gods on human beings. Originally the term appears to have meant those who acted as messengers between the gods and human beings. The term derives from the root *aṅg* and has a linguistic connection with the Greek word *angelos* ("angel," translated from the Hebrew word meaning "messenger"). That the fire god Agni was believed to have been an *aṅgiras* fits this interpretation well.[36] Manfred Mayrhofer, however, rejects such explanations as unreliable and thinks that Aṅgiras was the name of a sage (*ṛṣi*); its plural form *aṅgirasaḥ* he explains only as "eine Klasse von höheren Wesen mit Agni an der Spitze" ("a class of exalted beings with Agni at their head").[37] Clearly, Aṅgīrasa represents a kind of spiritual being in the *Ṛg Veda,* and as such the word was used to refer to the Buddha in the verse just quoted from the *Saṅyutta-nikāya.* It is an epithet found only in the oldest layer of verse in the Pāli *suttas* (for example, *Theragāthā,* 536), not in any prose section. This fact implies that when Buddhism arose, it maintained links with Vedic culture that were severed as it developed. Interestingly, Buddhaghosa interpreted Aṅgīrasa as "the rays of light [*rasmiyo*] emanating from the Buddha's body [*aṅga*]."[38] This, however, is no more than a roundabout popular interpretation of its derivation. In the *Ṛg Veda,* Aṅgīrasa seems to refer to a group of magicians viewed as heretics by orthodox Brahmins. Members of the Aṅgiras tribe, however, were said to be endowed with youthful vigor, to be undying,[39] to be "heavenly children," and to be the "seven sages (*vipra*)."[40] This belief indicates that the later idea of the seven buddhas of the past, and of the seven sages, was influenced by the thought of the *Ṛg Veda* and later texts.

In addition, the names of mythological beings of the time were often employed. For example, Sakyamuni and Buddha are both described as *nāga*;[41] this epithet probably derives from the earlier custom of addressing in this way those who have perfected their practice.[42] In early Jainism, too, Mahāvīra was called *nāga*.[43] Buddhism apparently took over this usage and applied it to its own founder. The epithet *nāga* as applied to the Buddha seems to have meant "elephant" rather than "dragon" or "snake."[44]

In a similar fashion, Sakyamuni and Buddha are also called *yakkha*.[45] In later times buddhas and *yakkhas* were thought of as diametrically opposed, but in the most ancient stratum of the sutras, *yakkha* appears as an epithet of the Buddha. *Yakkha* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *yakṣa* and the Old Māgadhī *jakkha*. *Yakṣa* derives from the root *yaj* ("to make offerings," "to celebrate") and means "a spirit that receives offerings." The word appears frequently in the *Ṛg Veda,* though in spite of interpretive efforts by scholars, its meaning there remains unclear.[46] What is certain is that *yakṣa* did not mean what later Buddhist writings indicated, a "demigod" or "monster." All we can say with confidence is that *yakṣa* in the earliest sense signified a spiritual and supernatural being.[47]

Jainism shares the earliest Buddhist idea of *yakkha*. In Jain scriptures, *jakkha* is mentioned with *nāga* and *bhūta* ("spirits")[48] and is considered a kindly being:[49] "Endowed with the various virtues, the *jakkha* lives in the upper realms [of the heavenly world] and shines like a radiant being."[50] Archaeological evidence also adds to our information. Numerous statues of *yakkhas* dating from the Maurya and Śuṅga dynasties have been found; although inscriptions identify them as *yakkhas,* all are depicted with comely and bright faces and none exhibits weird or frightening characteristics. These portrayals bear out the assumption that *gāthās* extolling Sakyamuni (or the Buddha) as a *yakkha* belong to the period up until the Maurya dynasty, or at the latest before the establishment of the Śuṅga dynasty. We can also assume that descriptions of the *yakkha* as a fearful being postdate the Śuṅga dynasty (after 75 B.C.E.). [51]

We have seen how in the earliest period Buddhism used epithets derived from Brahmanism; at the same time it also employed terms belonging to the various sects that had evolved in opposition to Brahmanism. Non-Brahmanical religious practitioners were called *samaṇa* (Skt., *śramaṇa*), "one who seeks the Way." Buddhism also followed this stance, and therefore Gotama was called *samaṇa*.[52] Non-Buddhist people called him "*samaṇa* Gotamo."[53] (Later, when Buddhism spread to China, the Chinese translated *śramaṇa* using *tao-jen*, meaning "a person of the Way," from

the "Heaven and Earth" chapter of the *Chuang-tzu*, a classic written by the fourth-century B.C.E. Chinese sage Chuang-tzu.) Because this was the usual term of address for religious practitioners of the time, Chinese Buddhist usage followed suit.[54] As the process of deifying Gotama proceeded within Buddhism, however, this mode of address came to be used by non-Buddhists only; Buddhists invariably used the expressions World-honored One or Buddha. This change is apparent if we compare the verse and prose sections of the early Buddhist sutras.

"Buddha" itself means no more than "enlightened one." Practitioners of Jainism in the earliest period were called "buddhas." In the Jain text *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, all renowned philosophers (even if they were not Jain) were called "buddha." In China "buddha" was transliterated by the character 佛 (*fo*) or its simplified form 仏,[55] the final syllable being dropped from 佛陀 (*fo-t'uo*). In a private communication, the late lexicographer Tetsuji Morohashi pointed out that the right-hand element of the character *fu* (弗) clearly signifies the negative and that the related character 沸 (*fei*), for example, whose left-hand element means water, refers to the bubbling and boiling of water, thus to a changed state of that element. Similarly, "buddha" could be interpreted as meaning a man who is more than a man. Although I must leave the evaluation of this suggestion to experts, I feel that it is likely to be correct.

Another term used during the Buddha's time was *kevalin*, referring mainly to those *samaṇa* who had attained perfect wisdom (*kevala*);[56] Jainism employed it in this way, thus preserving this usage down through the centuries. In the earliest period of Buddhism, the Buddha was also called *kevalin*,[57] but later this epithet, which other religions also used, was discarded.[58]

In a small portion of ancient verse we find the Buddha being referred to as *gaṇin* ("one who leads a band of disciples").[59] This form of address was applied to famous religious teachers in general (for example, the leaders of the six sects contemporaneous with Buddhism).[60] It in no way implies that Gotama was godlike, but rather that society regarded him in the same light as other religious leaders of the time. In this sense he was addressed with the honorific Master (*satthā*).[61]

Besides being a person who had seen the Truth, Gotama was one who preached it (*saccavādin*).[62] Jain sages, too, were respectfully termed *saccavāī*.[63] Being one who spoke the Truth, "the Perfected One [Tathāgata] never lies. What was voiced could not be erased."[64] Gotama was, then, a person endowed with all the virtues of a religious figure. He was one who had separated himself from greed (*vītarāga*), he had overcome the defilements, and he had conquered the forces of Māra.[65] Therefore he was a conqueror (*jina*) and a victor (*vijitasaṃgāma*);[66] those who followed him could also be termed "conquerors." Following the same pattern, Gotama (or the Buddha) might also be called Mahāvīra ("great hero").[67] This epithet was not restricted to the Buddha; *bhikkhus*, such as Mahāmoggalāna, were also addressed in this way.[68] Sometimes simply *vīra* ("the strong," "hero") was used.[69] That the Buddha was regarded as *vīra* is proof that he had not yet begun to be deified. In the earliest period, Jainism, like Buddhism, called its practitioners of high attainment "the strong."[70] In both Buddhism and Jainism those who had perfected their training were termed Jina and Mahāvīra.

Sakyamuni had overcome all delusions and had "reached the other shore of existence" (*bhavassa pāragū*).[71] Yet reaching the other shore was not an attainment of Sakyamuni alone; the same could be said for all those who had achieved their goal in religious practice.[72] In Jainism practitioners were called *pāragāmin* ("those who have set out for the other shore").[73] Here is another instance where Buddhism incorporated epithets from other religions. That Sakyamuni was also called *cakkhumat* ("one with eyes or vision"), *samantacakkhu* ("one whose eyes are everywhere"), and Eye of the World means merely that he was endowed with powers of insight.[74] Ordinary practitioners, too, could be called *cakkhumat*;[75] here, "eyes" are considered to be bestowed on ordinary people.[76]

Because the Buddha was completely human, he was addressed as "the supreme of all human beings" or "the supreme of all living beings."[77] Sometimes he was also called "supreme among gods and human beings."[78] In other words, he was the lord (*janinda*)[79] of all. He was considered a great man,[80] but even so people viewed him in personal terms, using expressions such as "my father" and "my grandfather."[81] He was no more and no less than a "good friend" to all people,[82] as we are good friends to one another in this present world.

The various epithets of Gotama just discussed could be applied to the Buddha or to any religious practitioner, for both were equally human with essentially no difference between them. This idea of the Buddha is considerably different from that which became prominent as a result of the growth of Buddha worship in Aśoka's time. The verses that include these epithets seem to have been composed before the rise of the Maurya dynasty, or at the latest by the time of its third king, Aśoka.

Other epithets for the Buddha or Sakyamuni include:

akutobhaya ("one who has no fear"): *Theragāthā*, 289.
anantagocara, apada ("[the Buddha of] infinite range of perception, the trackless one"; i.e., one who has no desires and thus leaves no footprints): *Dhammapada*, 179, 189.
antimadehadhārin ("one who holds the last physical body"; i.e., one who has no more rebirth): *Itivuttaka*, 38 G.
antimasarīra ("one who has the last physical body"): *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 165 G.
asayhasāhin ("one who has borne the unbearable"): *Theragāthā*, 536.
balappatta ("one who has attained the [ten] powers"): *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 110 G.
dhammappati ("the lord of the Law"): *Theragāthā*, 758.
dhammarāja ("the king of the Law"): *Theragāthā*, 389, 399, 889.
nirupadhi ("one who has no defilements"), *nirūpadhi, nirupadhika*: *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 5 G, p. 141 G; vol. 4, p. 158 G; *Udāna*, V, 6.
parisāsu visārada ("one who has no hesitation in the assembly"): *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 110 G.
sahājanetta ("coinciding eye" [wisdom; "coinciding" derives from the fact that Buddhahood (enlightenment) coincides with the eye (wisdom)]): *Suttanipāta*, 1096.
sammāvimutta ("one who has attained right liberation"): *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 109 G.
sumedha ("one who excels in wisdom"): *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, vol. 1, p. 144 G.
suvuttavādin ("one who teaches the Truth"): *Theragāthā*, 1111.
upāyakusala ("one who is versed in skillful means"): *Theragāthā*, 158.

Later Buddhism held that the Buddha had been born into this world in order to become the Buddha. Sakyamuni himself, however, never laid claim to such views. "You and I, for reasons that we do not understand clearly, will long dwell within birth and death and will not cease from rebirth."[83] In this statement, Gotama is speaking as a human being, reflecting on the human condition. He, too, walks the world of delusion.

Early Buddhists looked up to Sakyamuni as a great teacher who had been able to control his own passions. The student Jatukaṇṇin spoke thus of him: "Hearing of a hero [who has overcome the defilements], of a man who has no sensuous desires, I have come here to ask him [the Buddha], who has crossed the raging stream, about being without sensuous desire. Speak to me of the state of tranquillity, man with vision! Master, speak to me as it really is. The Venerable Master [the Buddha] behaves, controlling the various sensuous desires, as the brilliant sun conquers the earth with its brilliance. One of great wisdom! Speak to me, who is with little wisdom, of the Dhamma.[84] I would know about doing away with birth and old age in this world."[85] Another student, called Bhadrāvudha, came to him with the same earnest request: "Hero! Many people from various regions have come wishing to hear your words. For their sakes, explain it to them well, for you know this doctrine as it is."[86] Similarly, Sāriputta said: "As the one with vision [the Buddha] is seen by the *devas* and people of the world, he has dispelled all darkness [of ignorance] and alone has attained the joy [of the Dhamma]. I have come here with a question, on behalf of all those who are fettered, to you who are the Buddha without obstruction and without deceit, you who are venerable of those following him [*tādi*], you who are the enlightened one [Buddha]."[87]

Sakyamuni exemplified the ideal of human existence. He had "removed all dust and stain, been seated in meditation, accomplished all that he had to do, been unstained by the defilements, and gone to the far shore of all phenomena."[88] This is clearly an idealization of the historical figure of Sakyamuni, yet there is no emphasis here, in the earliest stratum of the sutras, on the belief in miracles or superhuman powers. In this sense the figure of Sakyamuni as presented here is markedly different from that of later sutras. Verses such as the ones just quoted leave us in little doubt that Sakyamuni, respected and looked up to as the founder of Buddhism, was a historical person.

11. The Beginnings of Deification

Gotama Buddha was originally viewed simply as the "greatest of all human beings" and a "good friend." This human image, however, was soon superseded as Gotama underwent a process of deification. In the previous chapter we saw how certain of his epithets fell into disuse or were abolished as they came to seem unsuitable to his increasingly deified status. Others may have continued to be used sparingly and unobtrusively. A very few, employed from the earliest times through the process of deification, became honorific titles specific to Buddhism.

Gotama, as one who had realized the Truth, was called Buddha, meaning "enlightened one." In later times this was the most widely used epithet of Gotama Siddhattha, but because "buddha" referred to any person who had realized the Truth, it was an epithet common to Jainism as well.[1] Thus Mahāvīra, its founder, was also called Buddha.[2] In India in general, *buddha* means simply "wise," in contrast to *mūḍha* ("foolish").[3] It is very likely that the word was thus incorporated into Buddhism in the sense that the other sects used it. It could also have the connotation "awakened."[4] In Buddhism, Gotama was called Buddha from a relatively early period,[5] and at times he even referred to himself in this way.[6] This designation, too, was applied to him before he attained enlightenment.[7] Although "buddha" eventually became the standard term for the ideal human being, in the earliest period of Buddhism religious mendicants were all called "buddhas."[8]

The *Suttanipāta* says: "A *bhikkhu* should not wander around at an unsuitable hour [that is, after noon]. He should go to a village for alms at the stipulated time. For attachments form when one wanders out at an

unsuitable hour. Therefore, all those [*buddhā*, in the plural] who have awakened do not wander out at an unsuitable time."[9] Here, the expression "all those [*buddhā*, in the plural] who have awakened" derives from "buddha." The usage does not imply the buddhas of the three periods of past, present, and future, but rather sages who were ordinary people concerned about whether or not it was suitable to walk about after noon. Early Buddhists did not understand "buddha" in the same way their later counterparts did; to them, any wise person or seeker of the Way was a "buddha." In this sense, "buddha" and "bhikkhu" were synonyms, and their presence signals the period when there was no differentiation in their usage. The separation of "bodhisattva" and "buddha" similarly was the product of later thought. We must abandon the scholary viewpoint of Buddhology if we are to understand the figure of the Buddha as portrayed in the earliest texts such as the *Suttanipāta*.

Numerous buddhas were spoken of, honored, and revered.[10] The heretic Devadatta, too, called himself a "buddha." Aññā-Koṇḍañña became enlightened on hearing Gotama expound the Four Noble Truths;[11] therefore he, too, was a buddha. The Buddhist usage corresponds to that of the Jain scriptures, which designate all sages of whatever sect as "buddha," and also to the use of "buddha" for the Buddha's disciple Sāriputta.

Gotama Buddha was also called "saṃbuddha." In the epics this meant "understanding all things well."[12] In Buddhism the term means "awakened one" or "one who has correctly realized the Truth."[13] Here it refers not only to Gotama Buddha, but also to any person who has perfected his or her training.[14] The Jain tradition says that Pārśva, precursor of Vardhamāna, referred to "one who has realized the Truth" as *saṃbuddha*.[15] The epithet *sammāsaṃbuddha* ("perfectly enlightened one") gained currency somewhat later.[16] Enlightenment was described as "perfect" (*saṃbodhi*); it was said that "the Tathāgata has attained full enlightenment."[17]

In the sutras, Sakyamuni is addressed mainly as Bhagavā.[18] In both the Vedas and the epics, *bhagavā* (from *bhagavat*) was the term by which a disciple addressed a teacher.[19] In Hinduism, too, a thousand years after the time of Gotama Buddha, students continued to call their masters "bhagavan."[20] Bhagavā is clearly an epithet that Buddhism adopted from Hinduism. An identical usage, by a Brahmin student for his teacher, appears in the oldest verse sections of the Buddhist sutras.[21] Not only was the term used from a quite early period in Buddhism, but in Jainism, too, Bhagavat has been employed from a very early time right through to the present to refer to the founder, Mahāvīra.[22] By contrast, with Gotama's growing deification this term took on a high religious significance, and in the Chinese translations was usually rendered as World-honored One.[23] In certain cases it meant not the actual Buddha (*rūpa-kāya*), but the transcendent absolute (*dhammakāya*).[24] (It is thought, incidentally, that the root of the word means "master."[25])

Following this thread of discussion, the Buddha, besides being referred to as the embodiment of the Dhamma (*dhammakāya*) and as one with the Dhamma (*dhammabhūta*), was also revered as the embodiment of the god Brahman (*brahmakāya*) and as one with Brahman (*brahmabhūta*).[26] Thus the dignity and power of Brahman, the absolute figure of the Upaniṣads, was added to the Buddha's holiness. Eventually the Buddha that lay behind Sakyamuni became the object of belief; it was thought that the ultimate Buddha had taken human form to appear among human beings. This idea had its origins in early Buddhism, developed within Mahāyāna Buddhism, and in Japan was expressed in terms of the native deities' being avatars of the buddhas and bodhisattvas (*honji suijaku*). Throughout, the thinking is consistent.

The epithets "buddha" and "bhagavat" were apparently considered the most apt terms for describing the ideal personality, and as such were used in compound form, *bhagavā buddho*, even in comparatively early texts. This usage is confirmed in Maurya dynasty inscriptions, where the Buddha was called Revered Master (Bhagavat), as well as simply Buddha, and, on occasion, the two together, Bhagavat Buddha.[27] Gotama, in particular, was called Buddha Sakyamuni.[28] Just as Buddha was used in Jainism, Bhagavat was employed as an epithet both in Jainism and Hinduism.[29] (In Buddhism, however, Bhagavat was apparently the more reverential form. In the *Questions of King Milinda*, the ruler, a non-Buddhist, called Sakyamuni Buddha, while the Buddhist elder Nāgasena called him Bhagavat.)

The Buddha (or *sāvaka*) was also called *pūjāraha* ("he who is worthy of respect").[30] In the same way, "buddhas" or religious practitioners were referred to as "those who should be respected" (*arahā* = *arhat*);[31] this term was used in the other, non-Buddhist sects as well. In Jainism its usage continued for a long time, with the result that Jainism was also known as Ārhata. In Buddhism *arhat* later came to mean one who had perfected Hīnayāna training, but who was not in fact a buddha. Because *arhat* posed conceptual problems in translation, it tended to be transliterated rather than directly translated into Chinese; when more explanation was considered necessary, a Taoist term from the "Great Ones Worthy of Respect" chapter of *Chuang-tzu* meaning "perfect man" was used.[32] This

term eventually found its way into translations of Buddhist scriptures as well;[33] it was borrowed especially by Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism.

Another epithet of the Buddha was Tathāgata ("Perfected One"). In the epics this word meant "having become a splendid being";[34] in that sense it entered ancient Buddhist verse as an epithet meaning "perfect."[35] Thus when applied to human beings, Tathāgata had the meaning of "one who has practiced in this way and gone forward" and "perfected one."[36] This meaning appears, too, in the Jain scriptures, while even in the Pāli scriptures an outstanding religious master of the time was called Tathāgata.[37] It evidently was a form of address common to all the non-Brahmanical schools of the time.

In the oldest Buddhist texts, *tathāgata* means nothing more than "respected religious practitioner." "Do not offend the *tathāgatas* [religious practitioners]" (*māsādesi tathāgate* [*Theragāthā,* 280]). The commentary identifies these respected religious practitioners as "distinguished disciples of the Buddha" (*tathāgate ti ariyasāvake*). There is no sign here of the later division between *tathāgata* and *sāvaka*. Gotama called himself *tathāgata,*[38] and *bhikkhus* like the disciples of the Buddha were also referred to in this way.[39] Tathāgata was synonymous with a *bhikkhu* who had erased all stain.[40] We also find *tathāgata* and *arhat* joined as a compound (*tathāgato arahā*) in the sutras.[41] In a similar way, one who had perfected his practice was referred to as "such a one" or "thus-like person" (*tādin*).[42] In later times, however, such epithets were reserved for the deified Buddha alone.

The Buddha was also called "the one endowed with wisdom and deeds" (*vijjācaraṇa-sampanna*), an epithet that had already appeared in ancient verse.[43] Since the same epithet occurs in Jainism, it undoubtedly originated outside Buddhism, for in the *Bhagavad Gītā* the ideal Brahmin is considered one who is endowed with wisdom and controlled deeds (*vidyāvinayasampanna brāhmaṇa*).[44]

We can see from the preceding discussion that the most important of the Buddha's epithets whose use survived down through Buddhist history were those that referred to Indian religious practitioners as a whole; Buddhism merely adopted them for its own use. This fact only gives further weight to my contention that Gotama Buddha was in his life and ideas little different from the general type of religious practitioner existing during his time. When portraying the Buddha, later sculptors and painters committed grave errors. They regarded him as being essentially different from other *bhikkhus.* Because *bhikkhus* tended to cut off their hair, they showed the Buddha as having hair. According to the testimony of the sutras, however, Sakyamuni was one *bhikkhu* among many[45] and he remained a *bhikkhu* after becoming enlightened and beginnnig to teach.[46] He was, in fact, called "hairless one" (*muṇḍaka*).[47] He may have looked very much like the modern-day *bhikkhus* of Sri Lanka. Of course, when he was undertaking severe ascetic exercises by himself he would not have cut his hair, but after he had formed his community he would surely have done so.

In outward form, Sakyamuni was no different from other *bhikkhus.* Artists of later times depicted him with beautiful hair and a halo, and surrounded by his disciples; this is an error in terms of historical truth. Clarifying historical fact will destroy the image drawn by later Buddhists. To do this, we ourselves must be very clear about what is fact and what is not. Gotama as a *bhikkhu* with shaven head and simple robes is the Indian ideal of twenty-five hundred years ago. Buddhist statues began to be made around the beginning of the common era, reflecting ideals established by Buddhists. We need to look beyond these artistic portrayals to the more basic elements—no more, no less.

Nevertheless, Sakyamuni's deification had already begun in the sutras themselves. As we have already seen, even the oldest of the discourses recorded in the sutras exhibit signs of this tendency. It is only in some of the slightly later verses, however, that we begin to see examples of epithets that seem to derive from Buddhism itself.

One of these is the epithet *sugata* ("blessed one").[48] In Chinese this was translated as *shan-shih* or *shan-ch'ü.*[49] A Mahāyāna sutra does not refer to Sakyamuni when it employs *sugata;* there the word merely means "happy."[50] In later times in India, Buddhists were generally referred to as "followers of the Blessed One" (*saugata*),[51] a term derived from *sugata.* We also find verse examples of Sakyamuni's being called the "charioteer of men who are to be tamed"; "the best and foremost of charioteers" also occurs.[52]

In ancient India the horse was of equal importance with the cow as a beast of labor. A special occupation was developed for those who could control the horse with the whip,[53] called "controller of horses" (*assadammasārathi*).[54] In this sense the Buddha was termed "controller of men" (*purisadammasārathi*);[55] linguistically the words for "horse" and "man" were interchanged. These expressions, which belong to the later group known as the "ten epithets," also appear in verse. Another such epithet is "mas-

ter of gods and men";[56] directly translated, this becomes "master of the world together with the gods."[57] However, a further example from the group, "he who knows the world" (*lokavidū*), does not appear in verse; it emerged only in the later prose sections.[58]

Gradually these epithets were collected into groups. The most important appear in the *Therīgāthā* as follows: "I pay homage to the revered master, he who should be respected, he who has correct understanding" (*namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsaṃbuddhassa*).[59] The ten epithets, which emerged later, are conventionally regarded as consisting of those that are listed in table 4. These epithets do not appear in the verse sections, only in the prose. It appears that Tathāgata was added at a later time to the basic group.[60]

Furthermore, certain epithets that were formerly applied to Gotama came to be forbidden later. For example, in the earliest sutras laypeople would address Sakyamuni in the second person as *tuvaṃ*.[61] According to the *Vinaya*, however, when Sakyamuni met his former companions in Deer Park after his enlightenment, they "addressed him by name and with the epithet *āvuso* [friend]": "When they spoke to him thus, the Revered Master said to the five *bhikkhus*: '*Bhikkhus*, do not address the Tathāgata by name, or with the epithet *āvuso*. The Tathāgata, *bhikkhus*, is a perfected and fully enlightened being.'"[62] The Chinese translation, the *Ssu-fen-lü* (the Dharmagupta Vinaya), shows a further step in the process of deification and stresses that there can be no mere friendship with the Buddha: "The

Table 4. The ten epithets of the Buddha.

	Sanskrit	Pāli
1.	Tathāgata	Tathāgata
2.	Arhat	Arahat
3.	Samyaksaṃbuddha	Sammāsaṃbuddha
4.	Vidyācaraṇa-saṃpanna	Vijjācaraṇa-sampanna
5.	Sugata	Sugata
6.	Lokavid	Lokavidū
7.	Anuttara	Anuttara
8.	Puruṣadamya-sārathi	Purisadamma-sārathi
9.	Śāstā-devamanuṣyānām	Satthā devamanussānaṃ
10.	Buddha-bhagavat	Buddha-bhagavant

five *bhikkhus*, seeing the seated Tathāgata, called to him by name and with the epithet *tuvaṃ*. At that time the Buddha said to the five *bhikkhus*: 'Do not call [me who will be] the Tathāgata by name or with the epithet *tuvaṃ*. The Tathāgata, fully enlightened to the Truth, is the powerful and limitless victor. Should you call the Tathāgata by name or with the epithet *tuvaṃ*, your sufferings will be immeasurable throughout the long night.'"[63] In the prose sections of the sutras, it was already considered a grave crime to talk to Sakyamuni using the epithet *āvuso*. It was similarly considered serious misconduct for a person to do so using *tuvaṃ* ("you"), even in ignorance.[64]

When Sakyamuni was journeying alone through Magadha, he begged to stay one night at the house of Bhaggava, a potter of Rājagaha. There was already a wandering almsman staying there, a man called Pukkusāti, who had long wished to meet the Buddha. When he discovered that evening in the course of conversation that his fellow lodger was Sakyamuni, he was very surprised and overcome with remorse that he should have unknowingly addressed him informally using the word "you":[65] "Then the Venerable Pukkusāti thought: 'Truly it is the Master I have met. Truly it is the Sugata I have met. Truly it is the fully enlightened one I have met.' Rising from his seat and arranging his robe over one shoulder, he bowed to the ground, touching his head to the Venerable Master's feet, and said: 'A transgression [*accaya*] overcame me, and I acted as a fool, an ignorant one, and an evil one. I beg you to acknowledge my transgression, my supposing that I could address the Venerable Master as "you," so that I might be restrained from doing so in the future.'"[66] Pukkusāti seems to have spoken thus out of a feeling of deep respect for Sakyamuni. There is therefore something unsatisfying about Sakyamuni's reply: "'Truly, *bhikkhu*, a transgression overcame you, as it overcame a fool, an ignorant one, and an evil one, for you supposed that you could address the Venerable Master as "you." Since you see this transgression as a transgression and confess it according to the Dhamma, I acknowledge it for your sake. There is growth in the regulation of the *arahant*, so that whoever sees a transgression as a transgression and confesses it according to the Dhamma might be restrained from doing the same in the future.'"[67] We would expect Sakaymuni to grant forgiveness in face of a *bhikkhu*'s remorseful apology, for that is the behavior common to all peoples. Could the historical Sakyamuni really have uttered the cold words we find in the sutra? A religious leader who had become lost in his own importance may well have done so, but the figure in this *sutta* is completely

different from the Sakyamuni portrayed in ancient verse. In the extract just quoted, the Buddha merely repeats Pukkusāti's words; that is, words are merely being put into his mouth, in another instance of the phenomenon of deification.

Gradually the sutras came to view the Buddha as more and more of a god: "Whatever wealth there is in this world or the next, or whatever splendid jewel there is in the heavenly realm, none is equal to our Tathāgata. This splendid jewel exists in the Buddha; through this truth may there be happiness."[68] As Buddhism grew and became virtually the state religion during the Maurya dynasty, Gotama was increasingly regarded less as a human being than as a godlike existence with supernatural powers. He was called "transcendent deity" (*atideva*) and "god of gods" (*devadeva*).[69] In later times we find also the expression "deity who surpasses all others" (*devātideva*). The Buddha was no longer thought of as a man. The Brahmin Doṇa asked the Bhagavant the following questions: "Are you not a god?" "Are you not a *gandhabba* [Skt., *gandharva*]?" "Are you not a *yakkha* [spiritual being]?" "Are you not a human being?" To each question the Buddha replied that he was not. To the final one he said: "I am not a human being" (*na kho ahaṃ manusso bhavissāmi*), explaining that he was unstained by the pollutions of the world. "Think of me as the Buddha," he said.[70] Formerly, the Buddha had been revered, but as an enlightened human being.[71] Now he was worshiped as the nonhuman Buddha.

The deified Buddha exhibited supernormal powers.[72] It was believed that an enlightened being had great power; from the beginning the Buddha was called "powerful" (*balappatta*), and later, after the concept of the ten powers had emerged, "the one having the ten powers" (*dasabala*).[73] These powers were very great. It was believed that when Candimā, the moon deity, was captured by the demon Rāhu (a lunar eclipse), the Buddha brought about his release by means of a verse. Rāhu exclaimed: "I have been overcome by the Buddha's verse."[74] In praise, the Buddha's disciples sang, "He knew my thoughts, and with supernormal powers and a body formed of will (*manomayena kāyena*), he drew near me and taught me the teachings."[75] He was praised as one who had vast wisdom (*mahāpañña*).[76] "In this world of the ten directions, there is nothing that has not been seen or heard or thought of or perceived by you."[77] He was considered to be all-knowing (*sabbaññū*).[78]

The deification of the Buddha paralleled that of the founder of Jainism. In the ancient scriptures, the founder of Jainism was called by his personal name, Nāyaputta.[79] However, in later texts (for example, *Uvāsagadasāo*) this word does not appear even once; instead he is called by the epithet Mahāvīra ("great hero"). Even this word rarely appears in isolation, but is usually accompanied by a set of honorific expressions.[80]

The Buddha's body, too, came to be thought of as having physical characteristics different from those of an ordinary person.[81] At first he was depicted simply as a human being who illuminated the world: "[The deity came and asked:] 'How many things of radiance[82] are there that illuminate the world? We have come to ask you that, for we would know.' [The Venerable Master said:] 'There are four things of radiance in the world. There is no fifth. During the day the sun shines, while at night the moon shines. Fire gives illumination day and night. The Buddha[83] is the greatest of all those things that shine. There is no light more radiant.'"[84] Later, however, a physical light was believed to emanate from the Buddha's body. For example, a verse describes the Buddha as being clothed in a radiant golden light; in the explanatory prose section, the idea is rewritten as the illumination cast by the Buddha's pure skin.[85] The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* describes the nobleman Pukkusa's great joy when he saw Sakyamuni sitting at the root of a tree: "Pukkusa offered a robe of bright gold. Wearing it, the Master's body shone as gold."[86] This is an extremely ancient legend. The compilers of the legendary biographies were not content, however, with this degree of deification; the composer of the prose section accompanying this verse explained that "the color of the Tathāgata's skin was pure and beautiful." The earlier legend had stated that the Buddha's robe shone; the more developed form said that the Buddha's body itself emitted rays of light.

Eventually the idea that the Buddha's skin was golden in color became commonly accepted,[87] and the special characteristics that distinguished his physical form were compiled into thirty-two.[88] These characteristics gained a fixed form over time and were handed down through the ages; a small number are identical to those of the Hindu deity Viṣṇu Nārāyana, and probably originated in an early sun cult.[89] Whenever he had the opportunity, Gotama spoke to members of other religious groups. According to the sutras, however, he employed magical means rather than the persuasive force of teaching to bring them to his ideas.[90]

The process of deification is clearly linked with developments in secular power. Between the Nanda and Maurya dynasties, India became united

politically; as a result, the ideal of the universal emperor (the wheel-rolling king) was revered. Like all inhabitants of India, Buddhists subscribed to this ideal, describing the Buddha as the religious version of the universal monarch. Deification is essentially an emphasis on greatness. Why the figure of Gotama lent itself to such magnification stems from his role as people's savior. He did not seek only his own well-being; he liberated not only himself but others as well.[91] This characteristic has been a part of Buddhism since its inception. The Buddha was the Compassionate One (*kāruṇika*).[92] Because he instructed people, he was the chief of the band (of followers; *satthavāha*)[93] and their Refuge (*saraṇa*).[94] Buddhism was likened to medicine and the Buddha was regarded as the great physician.[95]

The idea of the Buddha as one who possessed superhuman power was linked with the Indian concept of transmigration; thus his appearance in this world was believed to be related to his accumulation of merit in past lives. Many legends about those past lives arose. He was said to have been Kappa, a disciple of the Brahma Baka,[96] or Jotipāla, a friend of a potter during the age of the Buddha Kassapa.[97] The connection with the Buddha Kassapa seems to have come through Jainism; it was Kāśyapa who bestowed on Mahāvīra the truth of Jainism.[98] The Buddha recollected that he had lived many human lives in the past;[99] these lives were formalized in various ways; for example:

> "See, *bhikkhus*, the fruits of merit, the fruits of good, of those who seek happiness. For seven years I practiced thoughts of compassion. Seven ages of the universe came into being and then dissolved, but I did not return to this world. When the world was being formed, I was born in the Ābhassara heaven. When the world was decaying, I was born in the Brahmā realm that was void [*suñña*]. Seven times I was all-powerful, a great Brahmā deity. Thirty-six times I ruled the gods as the *deva* king [Inda]. I became, too, a wheel-rolling king and was the lord of the whole of India [Jambu-saṇḍa]; annointed, I ruled human beings as a king. Using no violence, no weapons, I subjugated the realm, and without force I ruled all impartially, according to the Law. Governing the realm according to the Law, I caused the clans to gain great wealth and property and have all their wishes met, giving them the wealth of the seven jewels.
>
> "The buddhas are the protectors of the world. The buddhas have taught this well. This is the reason for their greatness. Thus they are called the kings of the realm. I am the brave lord of great wealth, powerful, famous, the lord of all India. Even the baseborn, hearing this, cannot doubt. Thus those who hope for greatness should venerate the True Law, contemplating the teachings of all the buddhas."[100]

Here we see a tendency to combine stories of the Buddha's former lives and the legend of the wheel-rolling king; we can also discern in this passage a prototype of the various legends that later took form in literature such as the *Jātaka*. Legends of past lives also accrued to famous disciples of the Buddha. For example, it was said that Anuruddha had been Indra in a former life, as well as seven times the king of India, and then had had fourteen further incarnations.[101] Tales of former lives like *jātaka* were also told of the *bhikkhunī* Sundarī.[102]

Thus the Buddha became further and further removed from human form. Since, according to Buddhism, whoever realizes the Dhamma is a buddha (enlightened one), there had to be other buddhas besides Gotama, ones who shared his transcendental powers. From this idea arose the concept of the buddhas of the three time periods—the past, the present, and the future.[103] This idea, too, originated in Jainism; the *Āyārāṅga-sūtra* says, "All the Worthy Ones, those buddhas who existed in the past, appear in the present, and will come again in the future, the Bhagavats, all . . ." (*je ya aīyā* [= *atītā*, "past"], *je ya paḍuppanna* [= *pratyutpannā*, "present"], *je ya āgamissā* ["future"], *arahantā bhagavanto* ["all the buddhas"] *savve te* . . .)[104] From the earliest period, Jainism had also maintained that the Truth had been taught by various buddhas.[105] This understanding was probably shared by all the religious groups of the time; Buddhism in turn inherited it. The concept of the seven buddhas of the past existed very early;[106] this nomenclature can be seen already in the *gāthās*.[107] The seven buddhas were, in Pāli, Vipassin, Sikhin, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa, and Sakyamuni himself. The Buddha was often called the "seventh sage."[108] The idea of the seven buddhas can, as I have mentioned elsewhere, be traced back to the *Ṛg Veda*. A particularly detailed description of the seven buddhas appears in the *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* in the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, of which there are corresponding Sanskrit and Chinese texts.[109] It was usual to identify Dīpaṃkara as the buddha under whom Sakyamuni first began his religious training in his past life; the cult of this buddha, however, occurred relatively late in the period of early Buddhism.[110]

According to Fa-hsien, at least in the fourth century the buddhas of the past were regarded as real people; their birthplaces could even be identified.

> Forty or fifty *li* west of the capital we arrived at a village called Tadua. This is the birthplace of Kāśyapa Buddha, the place where he met his father, and the place where he attained *parinirvāṇa*. There is a stupa at each specific place. A great stupa was also erected over the relics of the entire body of the Tathāgata Kāśyapa.
>
> Twelve *yojanas* southeast of Śrāvastī, we arrived at a village called Nābhika. This is the birthplace of Krakucchanda Buddha, the place where he met his father, and the place where he attained *parinirvāṇa*. There, a monastery was built and stupas were erected. Less than a *yojana* north of here we arrived at a village. This is the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha, the place where he met his father, and the place where he attained *parinirvāṇa*. There is a stupa at each specific place.[111]

He also wrote of people who venerated the three buddhas of the past but did not venerate Sakyamuni.[112]

Hsüan-tsang recorded the birthplace of Kāśyapa in his travel record:

> There is an old town some sixty *li* northwest of the capital. In the Bhadra-kalpa when the human life span was twenty thousand years, Kāśyapa Buddha was born here. There is a stupa south of the town. This is the place where [Kāśyapa Buddha] first met his father after attaining enlightenment. North of the town is another stupa, which contains relics of the whole body of Kāśyapa Buddha. [Both of these stupas] were built by King Aśoka.
>
> From here, going southeast some five hundred *li* [or eight hundred *li* according to the *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan*], we came to the country of Kapilavastu.[113]

Faith in the Buddha was emphasized, in proportion to his growing deification:

> Whoever takes refuge in the Buddha
> Will not proceed to an adverse rebirth.
> They will cast off their bodily form,
> And fill the hosts of the deities.[114]

Such amplification of the Buddha's nature seemed to prevail at the time of the Maurya dynasty. An inscription proves that the cult of the buddhas of the past already existed by Aśoka's time. Aśoka erected a stupa to Buddha Konākamana (or the Buddha Kanakamuni), the fifth of the seven buddhas of the past.[115]

Whatever the extent of the Buddha's deification, however, his historicity was never entirely lost. The four places associated with the great events of his life (Lumbinī, Bodhgayā, Deer Park, and Kuśinagarī) became pilgrimage centers that drew large numbers of Buddhists. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Aśoka himself is said to have visited them.[116] Today many pilgrims from all over Asia make it a custom to travel to these venerable places. Yet even as the praise of the Buddha grew, there is an opposing tendency, minor still, that focuses on the philosophical concept of the buddha body.[117]

List of Abbreviations

ABORI	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
AN	*Aṅguttara-Nikāya.*
AvŚ.	*Avadāna-Śataka.*
Āy.	Walther Schubring. *Āyārāṅga-sūtra, erster Śrutaskandha.* Vol. 12, no. 4 of Abhandlungen für die kunde des Morgenlandes. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1910.
BSBU	Heinrich Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urcanons.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London.
Budda no sekai	Hajime Nakamura, Yasuaki Nara, and Ryōjun Satō, eds. *Budda no sekai* (The world of the Buddha). Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1980.
Chānd. Up.	*Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.*
Dhp.	*Dhammapada.*
Divyāv.	E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, ed. *The Divyâvadâna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1886.
DN	*Dīgha-Nikāya.*
Franke DN	Otto Franke, trans. *Dīghanikāya: Das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kannons.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913.
Geiger SN	W. Geiger. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya.* Vol. 1. München-Neubiberg: Benares-Verlag, F. Schwab,1930.
Itiv.	*Itivuttaka.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society,* New Haven.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* London.
MahN.	*Mahā-Niddesa.*
MBh.	*Mahābhārata.*
MCB	*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques,* Bruxelles.

MN	*Majjhima-Nikāya.*
MPS	*Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*
MW	M. Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
Pj.	*Paramattha-jotikā.*
PTS	Pali Text Society.
PW	*Petersburger Wörterbuch*, Böhtlingk and Roth's larger Sanskrit Dictionary, i.e., *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch,* herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften bearbeitet von Otto Böhtlingk und Rudolph Roth, St. Petersburg, 1855–75, Neudruck, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1966.
Rhys Davids DN	T. W. and Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, trans. *Dialogues of the Buddha.* Vol. 3 of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists. London: The Pali Text Society, 1973.
SBE	Sacred Books of the East. Translated by various scholars and edited by F. Max Müller.
Sehrai Peshawar	Fidaullah Sehrai. *The Buddha Story in Peshawar Museum.* Peshawar: Peshawar Museum, 1978. The biographies of the Buddha are composed of materials in the Pehsawar Museum.
SKP	Oskar von Hinüber. *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pali, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka.* Munich: L. Kitzinger, 1968.
Sn.	*Suttanipāta.*
SN	*Saṃyutta-Nikāya.*
Spk.	*Sārattha-ppakāsinī.*
Sūy.	*Sūyagaḍaṅga*
Sv.	*Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī.*
Therag.	*Theragāthā.*
Therīg.	*Therīgāthā.*
Ud.	*Udāna.*
Utt.	Jari Charpentier, ed. *Uttarādhyayaṇa-sūtra.* Upasala: Archives d'Études Orientales, 1922.
Waldschmidt Skt.	E. Waldschmidt, ed. *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra.* Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wassenshcaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst. 3 vols. Jahrgang 1950. Berlin: AkademieVerlag, 1950–51.
WOB	Indian Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. *The Way of the Buddha.* Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, ca. 1957.
ZIM	Heinrich Zimmer. *The Art of Indian Asia, Its Mythology and Transformations.* 2 vols. No. 34 of Bollingen Series. New York: Pantheon Books, 1960.

Notes

Note: In the Chinese sources cited, *T.* stands for *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō* (a compilation of sacred Buddhist works popularly known as *Taishō Tripiṭaka*), ed. Junjirō Takakusu et al., 55 vols., Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1924–29. The first number after *T.* is the volume number, followed by the page number. Letters indicate the column, and these are sometimes followed by the work's number within the compilation.

CHAPTER 7: RETURNING HOME

1. In modern Hindi and Nepali, the name is Kuśīnagar, which local residents use. In the Sanskrit text it appears in the flowery feminine form of the noun, Kuśinagarī. Many scholars write it as Kuśinagara, but this form is only a conjecture. In Pāli the form is Kusinārā.

2. This translation is a revised version of the sutra that appeared in vol. 11 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1881; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. 1–136. A partial English translation is included also in H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 95–110.

Among German translations are Julius Dutoit's *Das Leben des Buddha* (München-Neubiberg: Oskar Schloss Verlag, 1906), pp. 221–22, and Karl Eugen Neumann's *Die letzten Tage Gotamo Buddho's: Aus dem grossen Verhör über die Erlöschung Mahâparinibbânasuttam des Pâli-Kanons* (München: R. Piper, 1911, 1924). Clear academic advances were made, and relevant issues clearly defined, in *Franke DN,* pp. 179–255. An abridged translation appears in Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1959), pp. 208–14.

Japanese translations of the sutra include Hajime Nakamura, *Budda saigo no tabi—Daiparinibbāna-kyō* (The Buddha's last journey: *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*),

Iwanami Bunko (Library of Classics; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980). In my endeavor to make as few mistakes as possible in the translation, I used as a reference the notes that I still had from my student days, when Professor Makoto Nagai lectured on the subject using the Pāli text. Another translation is Hajime Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vols. 1 and 2 of *Butten kōza* (Lectures on Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1984, 1985). The latter contains a full Japanese translation of both the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* and the Sanskrit version, and, for comparison, of the Chinese translations, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, 2 fasc. (translator unknown [*T.* 1:176a–91a]), and the *Yu-hsing-ching*, 3 fasc. (*T.* 1:11a–30b). The earliest Japanese translation of the sutra was probably that of Tsūshō Byōdō, *Chōbu Kyōten* (Group of Long Discourses), vol. 2, vol. 7 of *Nanden Taizōkyō* (The Southern Tripiṭaka; Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1935), pp. 27–164; the translator published this in a more colloquial version with a detailed commentary as *Bonshi hōyaku: Budda no shi* (Japanese translation of the Sanskrit verses: The Buddha's death; Yokohama: Indogaku Kenkyūjō, 1961). His commentary has been invaluable to later scholars.

3. Cf. book review by Franklin Edgerton, *JAOS* 72 (1952): 190–93. Waldschmidt's editon of the text has been fully translated into Japanese in my *Yugyō-kyō*. The major part of the text was translated by Dr. Yutaka Iwamoto in *Bukkyō seiten sen* (Selected Buddhist scriptures), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1974), pp. 35–152, which, however, omits repetitions and sections considered to be later additions. I strove for a full translation and so added notes and explanations where necessary. Where problems occurred with Waldschmidt's reconstruction I altered the printed version. My main concern was to translate the original text faithfully; where the meaning of a passage was unclear due to the fragmentary nature of the original, I omitted it. I did not consult Dr. Iwamoto's translation except when necessary for comparison, because I wanted the individual merits of separate translations to be more readily apparent.

4. Ernst Waldschmidt, *Von Ceylon bis Turfan. Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967), p. 57.

5. Hakuju Ui, "Hatsunaiongyō nikan no yakusha wa Shiken ka" (Is Chih Ch'ien the translator of the two-fascicle *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*?). In *Yakkyōshi kenkyū* (Study of the history of the translations of Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971), pp. 517–23.

6. The attribution of the Chinese translation to Chih Ch'ien is supported also by Professor Zennō Ishigami. A private communication from the professor to the author states: "I agree with Dr. Hakuju Ui regarding the translator of the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*. For one thing, the traditional catalogues and biographies have tended to list him as the translator of the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [I have a list but cannot put my hands on it at the moment]; second, in comparison with the *Ch'i-chih-ching* [*T.* 1:810a–b; no. 27] and the *Ssu-a-mei-ching* [*T.* 14: 809c–14a; no. 532], whose translations are attributed to Chih Ch'ien, the translation of the names of the classified twelve divisions of the teachings listed in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* is virtually identical to that in the *Ch'i-chih-ching*, while the *Ssu-a-mei-ching* may have been translated from a different viewpoint; and third, Dr. Kōyō Sakaino [1871–1933] argued in support of the same attribution in his *Shina Bukkyō seishi* [Precise history of Chinese Buddhism; Tokyo: Sakaino Kōyō Hakushi Ikō Kankōkai, 1935; reprint, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1972], giving other translation examples. I think it is a natural conclusion that Chih Ch'ien translated the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*."

A Japanese translation of the sutra appears in *Butten kōza*.

7. Asao Iwamatsu, "Nehangyō shōhon no hon'yakusha" (The translators of the minor Mahāparinirvāṇa sutras), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25, no. 1 (Dec. 1976): 244–47.

8. Hōdō, *Kusharon Keiko*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 64:440c; no. 2251).

9. Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965; reprint, 1982), p. 135.

10. Kaijō Ishikawa, *Agonkyō Seiritsu no Kenkyū* (Study of the formation of the Āgamas; Tokyo: Gendaisha, 1982), pp. 193–213, 170–75. I have translated the *Yu-hsing-ching* into Japanese in my *Yugyō-kyō*. Another version, by Kaijō Ishikawa, is included in the modern Japanese translation of the canon (*Kokuyaku issaikyō* [The Tripiṭaka in Japanese], section on Āgamas, vol. 7 [Tokyo: Daitō Shuppan, 1933]). My own version has been made more readable by the addition of particles and postpositions, and I have included as much new information as possible in my notes. A more colloquial version, with revisions, based on a lecture series, is Mitsuyoshi Saigusa, *Agaonkyō o yomu* (Reading the Āgama sutras), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1989).

11. Iwamatsu ("Nehangyō shōhon no hon'yakusha") believes that the translator was an unknown person from the time of the Western Chin dynasty (265–317).

12. Asao Iwamatsu, "Daihatsu nehangyō ni okeru ichi ni no mondaiten—Nehangyō shōhon no honden o megutte" (A couple of issues in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* over the tradition of the translations of the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 24, no. 2 (March 1976): 154–55.

13. *Sv.*, vol. 2, pp. 573–74.

14. *Pen-sheng chu:* 本生処. *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4: *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:30b).

15. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac, 1960), s.v. *upavattana*. Elsewhere we find the words Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ Sālavanam (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 572), which describes the homeland as "the place where the Buddha was originally born."

16. *MN*, no. 24, *Rathavinīta-sutta* (vol. 1, p. 150).

17. Nālaka: G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, p. 1108. Nālandā: Nālandagrāmaka (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, p. 56, *l.* 6). Na-lo-t'o: 那羅陀 (*Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 47 [*T.* 3:873c et seq.]). Na-lo: 那羅 (*P'i-nai-yeh ch'u-chia-shih*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 23:1022b]).

18. *AN*, X, 65 (vol. 5, pp. 120–21.).

19. MPS, I, 16 (*DN*, no. 16 [vol. 2, p. 82]).

20. *Sampasādaniya-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 28 (vol. 3, p. 99ff.); "Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta" (*SN*, vol. 5, p. 159). Cf. Nakamura, *Budda saigo no tabi*, p. 204.

21. *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 18 (9) (*T.* 2:639a et seq.).

22. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 18 (*T.* 24:288a et seq.).

23. *SN*, XLVII, 14 (vol. 5, pp. 163–64); *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 24 (638) (*T.* 2:177a).

24. *Yüeh-kuang-p'o-sa-ching* (*T.* 3:406c et seq., no. 166).

25. *SN*, XLVII, 13 (vol. 5, pp. 161, 163–64).

26. Cf. *Therag.*, 1034.

27. *Spk.*, vol. 3, p. 172ff.; *Sv.*, vol. 2, pp. 549–50., etc. Sāriputta's death is also mentioned in the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 391. For this information I am indebted to Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, pp. 1115–16.

28. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi-aṭṭhakathā*, *Atthasālinī* (PTS) 16–17, according to Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, pp. 1116–17.

29. In his annotated Japanese translation of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, *Daitō saiiki ki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* (Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971, p. 304 n. 1), Shinjō Mizutani says: "Chia-lo-pi-na-chia; °*ka-ₒlâ-pji°-ₒna-ₒka*. Other reconstructions include Kālapināka (Julien, Beal, Watters), Kalapināka (Cunningham), and Kāḷapināka (Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* [Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967]). In view of Hsüan-tsang's transliteration scheme, I would suggest Kālapiṇāka. The *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* [*T.* 51:864a] says: 'The village of Nāla was the birthplace of Śāriputra.' (Kentoku Hori, *Kaisetsu saiikiki* [Commentary on the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi;* Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1971], p. 744 and Akanuma, *op. cit.*, p. 438.)"

30. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:924c); Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, book 2 (1884; Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), p. 177.

31. *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, vol. 1, pp. 88–89.

32. Chü-li-chia: 拘離迦; Chü-li-tuo: 拘離多 (*Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 47 [*T.* 3:874a et seq.]).

33. *Therag.*, 1158–61.

34. *Spk.*, vol. 3, p. 181.

35. *Jātaka*, vol. 5, p. 125ff. Concerning this story, see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, pp. 546–47.

36. *Buddhavaṃsa* (ed. PTS), I, 58. See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, pp. 1115–16.

37. Village of Kolika: Shinjō Mizutani, in his *Daitō saiiki ki*, p. 302 n. 1, says: "Chü-li-chia (拘理迦); *ₒkiu-°lji-ₒka;* Skt., Kolika. It is also Chü-li-chia (拘離迦). The *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*, fasc. 47 (*T.* 3:874a), says that Maudgalyāyana was the son of a Brahmin of the village of Chü-li-chia (拘離迦; Kolika) near Rājagaha and was called Chü-li-tuo (拘離多; Kolita). The *I-ch'ieh-ching yin-i* [Dictionary of pronunciations and meanings of words and phrases in the Tripiṭaka], fasc. 6 [*T.* 54:340b], says, 'Mahāmaudgalyāyana is a kind of ascetic. He is also called Chü-li-chia (俱利迦) or Chü-li-tuo (拘隷多) or Chü-lü-t'uo (俱律迦). These are the names of the same person.' Were the name of the village and Maudgalyāyana's name the same?"

38. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:924b); Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, book 9, p. 175.

39. *Pen-sheng ku-li:* 本生故里.

40. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:27a).

41. MPS, V, 8; *DN* (vol. 2, pp. 140–41).

42. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:15b–c). See Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 1, pp. 308–10.

43. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:21a). See Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 2, p. 533.

44. *Janmabhūmi* and its equivalents are found in various dictionaries:

janmabhū—f. native country, Bhāvaprakāśa, ii, 317 [MW].

janmabhūmi—f. native country, Harivaṃśa, 5747; Pañcatantra; Prabodhacandrodaya; Rājataraṅgiṇī; Hitopadeśa [MW].

janmabhūmi—birth-place, native country [Vaman Shivram Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968)].

janmabhūmi—f. Geburtsland, Heimat, AK, 3, 4, 18, 110; Harivaṃśa, 5747; Pañcatantra, V, 25; Hitopadeśa, II, 4; Prabodhacandrodaya, 25, 11; *Rāja-Tararaṅgiṇī*, 6. 20 H. 948.

Janmabhūti (mfn.) become a native country, *Kādambarī*, iv, 324 [MW]. This is clearly the cognate use anticipating the noun *janmabhūmi*.

45. *Pen-kuo:* 本国; Kumārajīva's translation, *Miao-fa lien-hua-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 9:16b). See also the English translation by Bunnō Katō, Yoshirō Tamura, and Kōjirō Miyasaka, *The Threefold Lotus Sutra: The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, and The Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Company, 1975), p. 117.

46. *Yatrāsav puruṣo . . . tasyaiva pitā vasati tan nagaram anuprāpto bhavet* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtram*, ed. by Unrai Wogihara and C. Tsuchida [Tokyo: Seigo-Kenkyūkai, 1934, p. 96]).

47. MPS, I, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 72).

48. In Buddhist scriptures Rājagaha (Rājagṛha) is translated into Chinese as Wang-she-ch'eng (王舍城).

49. Gijjhakūṭa (Gṛdhrakūṭa) is translated into Chinese as Ling-chiu-shan (靈鷲山) or Ling-shan (靈山) in abbreviation.

50. *Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 516.

51. For a photograph of Vulture Peak, see Hajime Nakamura and Takashi Koezuka, *Ganjisu no seichi* (Sacred places along the Ganges River), vol. 6 of *Sekai no seiiki* (Sanctuaries of the world; Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), pl. 34.

52. For the legend of Devadatta rolling a rock down the mountain and injuring Sakyamuni's foot, see *Ta-chih-tu-lun*, fasc. 41; *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 4; *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 47; and *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9.

53. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:862c). Also, James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 82–84.

54. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 51:921a–b).

55. MPS, I, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 72). "At that time": *tena kho pana samayena*, an instrumental of time, indicating the realization of a certain action within a certain span of time. It means, specifically, "during that time," "throughout that time" ("während dieser Zeit"; *SKP*, §132, §134, pp. 141–44). "Thriving": *mahiddhika*. Buddhaghosa explains the meaning of *mahiddhika:* The people of the country are united (*samaggabhāva* [*Sv.*, p. 516]). "Powerful": *mahānubhāva*. *Mahānubhāva* refers to the use of elephants in war and also to mastery of technology (*sippa; Sv.*, p. 516). Therefore the word seems to refer to military strength.

56. *Rhys Davids DN* (p. 78 n. 1) has "he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe."

57. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), col. 21.

58. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:176a).

59. As we will see, this sutra has many repeated phrases. Repetition was a device used to aid memorization in the early period of Buddhism, when texts were transmitted orally. I determined any abridging on a case-by-case basis.

60. "Vassakāra": "one who makes rain." Professor D. D. Kosambi assumes that the original Sanskrit word was Vaśyakāra ("The Sanskrit Equivalents of Two Pāli Words," *ABORI* 32 [1951]: 55–60). However, the Sanskrit recension found in Central Asia has Varṣākāra. Perhaps in the original eastern Indian dialect (Māgadhī) it was pronounced Vassāgāra, which was Sanskritized in that recension as Varṣākāra. But because it was Sanskritized as Varṣāgāra in the original text of the *Yu-hsing-ching*, it seems likely that the translator adapted it as Yü-she (禹舍). In other words, Yü-she may be a transliteration of Varṣa, or *she* may be a free translation of *āgāra*. Yü-she (雨舍), the Chinese form used in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:176a) and the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:60b), is clearly a free translation, the first character, "rain," representing *varṣa*. In the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih* the form is Hsing-yü (行舍), suggesting that the original was Varṣakāra, which the translator interpreted as "one who causes the rain to fall." The original form of Yü-she (雨舍) as found in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* may have been Varṣāgāra or the Prākrit form Vassāgāra. Therefore, it is possible that Vassāgāra or another close Prākrit form was used in the original text from which the translation was made. However, as texts later began to be Sanskritized: 1) We find Varṣāgāra instead of Vassāgāra used in one text. This became Yü-she (雨舍) in Chinese translation. 2) In Māgadhī and other ancient eastern Indian languages, where two vowels were joined by *k*, this consonant became the voiced *g*. Thus the word was Sanskritized as Varṣākāra, the reading we find in Waldschmidt's edition. 3) As that form was altered further, the reading Varṣakāra appeared, and it was translated into Chinese as Hsing-yü (行舍). Since the Tibetan version translates the word as Dbyar byed, meaning "causing summer to occur," the Sanskrit original must have been Varṣakāra. 4) Some people may have interpreted Vassāgāra as meaning Vaśyāgāra. If the latter term is divided as *vaśin* + *āgāra*, it means "ruler's house," which produced the translation Yü-she (禹舍) in the *Yu-hsing-ching*, a scripture in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching*. The name Vassakāra has thus been interpreted in a number of ways. A Brahmin and a minister of Ajātasattu, he built the city of Pāṭaliputra and surrounded it with walls. "Now": *ehi* ("to come"), second person singular of the imperative form of the verb ($\bar{a} + \sqrt{i}$). It is often used merely as an introductory word.

61. MPS, I, 2 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 72–73).

62. William Woodville Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order* (London: Trübner, 1884), p. 63.

63. For forms of address, see *Rhys Davids DN*, pp. 193–96.

64. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, pp. 923–24.

65. *Indo kodaishi I* (History of ancient India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura [Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1963]), pp. 271–72.

66. MPS, I, 3 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 73).

67. "Young": *āyasmant*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *āyuṣmat*. Forms in various texts include *āyasmā Ānando*, *āyuṣmān Ānandaḥ*, and *tshe-daṅ-ldan-pa kun-dgaḥ-bo*. In Chinese translations, the word is sometimes omitted. The equivalent form in Chinese translation (for example, by Hsüan-tsang) is *chü-shou* (具寿), meaning "endowed with years," but the most common expression is *chang-lao* (長老; "venerable"). This meaning is used by Rhys Davids, who translates it as "the venerable Ānanda" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 79), and by Franke, who translates it as "der ehrwürdige Ānanda" (*Franke DN*, p. 18). However, in many cases "venerable" is not suitable. For example, in general conversation in Sanskrit, older people address younger people as *āyuṣmat*. Today it is used merely in a sense close to that of "Mr." Even today we hear older people saying to younger people, "*āyuṣmān āgacchatu*" ("Come here"). In modern Sanskrit and Hindi, the bridegroom is called *āyuṣmat* and the bride is called *āyuṣmati*. Certainly there is no sense here of "aged" or "venerable," and to suggest otherwise would dampen the mood of the wedding.

The word originally meant "long-lived" or "one rich in life." For example, the *Laws of Manu* (II, 125) specifies, "A Brahmin should respond saying, 'May you have long life, you with roots of goodness'" (*āyuṣmān bhave saumyeti vācyo vipro 'bhivādane*). This expression is close in meaning to "be in excellent spirits" (*Laws of Manu*, III, 263). "Look after yourself" is expressed as "Be full of life" (*āyuṣmān edhi*). Pāṇini's study of Sanskrit grammar says that this expression is used when

returning a greeting, even that of a *śūdra* (*Pāṇinīya*, 8, 2, 83); the example given is *bho āyuṣmān edhi Tuṣajaka* (Otto Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatik* [Leipzig: Verlag von H. Haessel, 1887], pp. 448–49). The expression endures in modern Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Examples of a young person being called *āyuṣman* can be found in very early sources. For instance, in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (12, 2, 1, 9) a Brahmin father addresses his son in this way. In the *Mahābhārata*, too, *āyuṣmat* is used between friends. Vāsudeva's driver says to him, "*Āyuṣmans tvaṃ mayā nityaṃ rakṣitavyas tvayāpy aham*" (V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, eds., *The Mahābhārata* [Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927], III, 19, 9) and Vāsudeva says, "*Āyuṣmann upadeśas tu sārathye vartatāṃ smṛtaḥ*" (*Mahābhārata*, III, 20, 3).

In Sanskrit plays as well, the older drivers address the young nobles as *āyuṣman*. For example, in the play *Śakuntalā* by the fourth- or fifth-century poet and dramatist Kālidāsa, the driver addresses the king (*rāja*) as *āyuṣmat*. (See Richard Pischel, ed., *Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā: An Ancient Hindu Drama*, vol. 16 of Harvard Oriental Series [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922], p. 3, *l.* 4; p. 93, *l.* 4; p. 94, *ll.* 1 and 16; p. 95, *ll.* 6 and 10.) In view of this background, the modern usage is easy to understand. The same process can be discerned in Buddhist texts. In modern South Asian Buddhism, young monks are addressed as *āyasmā*, a custom that can be traced to relatively early times. The *Vinaya* stipulates that young *bhikkhus* be addressed as *āyuṣman:* "There are two forms of address. One is *ta-te* [大德] and the other is *chü-shou* [具寿]. Young *bhikkhus* should address elders as *ta-te* and elders should address young *bhikkhus* as *chü-shou*" (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 19 [*T.* 24:292c]). Here *ta-te* is possibly *bhante* in Pāli. In the "Pārāyana-vagga," the last section of the *Suttanipāta*, which is considered the oldest of all, the sixteen disciples of the Brahmin (*sissā soḷasa brāhmaṇā; Sn.*, no. 1006), that is, the young Brahmins (Pāli, *mānava;* Skt., *māṇava; Sn.*, no. 997) are all called *āyasmā*, as is customary in Sanskrit literature. The form *āyasmā* Piṅgiyo which appears in the *Suttanipāta* (no. 1120) clearly refers to an old man, but he is called *mānava* or *āyasmant* because he is just setting out as a student. At this stage the word does not have the meaning of "venerable" assigned to it by later Buddhist scholars. Thus it is not surprising that the Buddha addressed Ānanda as "*āyasmā* Ānando" in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. Since Ānanda later became an elder, it is possible to interpret the word here as meaning "venerable," but it would be better to understand it in light of the living tradition in Sanskrit and Pāli. Another example, *āyasmā* Cundako, in the same text (ch. 4, section 39) clearly refers to a young layman. The usage of *āyuṣmat* changed to some degree with time and social conditions. But translating it as *chü-shou* or *chang-lao* following usages of later times, as Chinese translators did, merely because the word *āyuṣmat* does appear in the Sanskrit recension, would mean "applying," not "translating." The Chinese translator of the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* used *hsien-che* (賢者; "the wise"); this translation reflects the influence of Chinese thought in the interpretation of Buddhist texts in the early period. In fact, when *sthavira* ("elder") is used, it very clearly

contrasts with *madhya* or *navaka* (Raniero Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu* [Rome: IsMEO, 1978], pp. 9–10). For convenience, therefore, I will use the two distinct translations, "young" and "venerable," when I translate the main text, though I do not think the Pāli authors themselves did do so. (This issue reflects the general usage in Indic languages, which does not, for example, differentiate between *older* and *younger brother*. In Hindi, *yesterday* and *tomorrow* are the same word. Of course, a translator must determine from the context which one is intended.)

68. "Ānanda": literally, "joy." He was a Sakya prince and a younger cousin of the Buddha. He became the Buddha's disciple after being ordained with other Sakya youths when the Buddha returned to Kapilavatthu. He acted as the Buddha's personal attendant, a sort of confidential secretary, for the last twenty-five years of the Buddha's life. He was warm, compassionate, and wise, and appears in the sutras as Sakyamuni's best-loved disciple.

69. MPS, I, 4 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 73).

70. On the Buddha's instruction to Vassakāra, see MPS, I, 4–5; T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Suttas*, vol. 11 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1881; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. 1–5; *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:160b–c); *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching* (*T.* 1:11a–12a).

71. "The Vajjis hold frequent . . . assemblies": *abhiṇhaṃ sannipatitā*. They met three times a day or according to circumstances (*Sv.*, p. 517). "Well-attended assemblies": *sannipāta-bahulā*. "Diese Versammlungen gut besucht sind" (*Franke DN*, p. 181). "Without grumbling, 'Yesterday we met. The day before that we met. Why are we meeting again today?' and without hesitating about going, they gathered in large numbers" (*Sv.*, p. 517). The original says, "Have you heard that the Vajjis hold . . . assemblies?" to which Ānanda replies, "I have heard so." "Have you heard?" is *kinti . . . sutaṃ*. The Sanskrit word *kim*, when written in Roman letters, contains no clue to its meaning when spoken. In conversation, when used to mean "What?" it is pronounced with an even tone, and when it is used as a rhetorical exclamation, it is pronounced with a rising sound at the end, like *kim(ú)*. Indians differentiate the two meanings very clearly. Though I have not investigated the question, I presume that a similar distinction existed also in Pāli.

72. "Forcibly abduct": *okkassa*. The form *okassa* can also be found in the manuscript. Both are correct, of the absolute case. We often find the compound *okkassa pasayha* (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 16; *Milindapañha*, p. 210, *l.* 3). See *BSBU*, §163, p. 124. "Live with them": *vāsenti*; "Sich Frauen und Mädchen von guter Familie zum Zusammenleben verschaffen" (*Franke DN*, p. 181).

73. "The Vajjis": *Vajjīnaṃ . . . gutti susaṃvihitā*. When the genitive case of a word comes before a past participle, that word has the same function as the instrumental case and indicates the subject of the action. Hinüber interprets this form as "Das participium conjunctum im Genetiv" (*SKP*, §255, p. 256). However, I

prefer to interpret it in the same way as the Sanskrit. *"Arahants": arahanto* or *arahant* (Pāli; Skt., *arhat*); "one worthy of respect and of receiving offerings," "an excellent religious practitioner." In early Buddhism and Jainism, it had the same meaning as *buddha*. Sakyamuni was no more than one such *arahant*. In later Buddhism, *arhat* (transliterated in Chinese as *a-lo-han*) came to refer to one who attained enlightenment of Hīnayāna. In Jainism, however, *arhat* meant "deity."

74. MPS, I, 4 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 73–75).

75. "Sārandada Shrine": *Sārandada cetiya*. The source of the Tibetan translation probably had *cāpāla cetiya*. The Pāli commentary (*Sv.*, p. 521) says that this shrine is the monastery (*vihāra*) built at the dwelling place of the *yakkha* called Sārandada. It is unlikely that a monastery existed there in the Buddha's time.

76. "Will never conquer . . . by force": *akaraṇīya;* literally, "cannot do." Rhys Davids uses "overcome"; he says "overcome" literally means "done," but the word evidently has a sense similar to that which "done" occasionally has in colloquial English. This is likely, in view of the fact the words are part of a spoken conversation. "Diplomatic means": *upalāpana;* "humbug," "cajolery," "diplomacy." The verb form *upalāpeti* contains this meaning (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 102; *Vinaya*, vol. 2, p. 119; vol. 4, p. 139; *Jātaka*, vol. 2, pp. 266, 267; vol. 4, p. 56). Rhys Davids believes that the root is *li*, but it is far more likely that the word derives from the verb *lap* ("talk"), as Franke suggests (*Franke DN*, p. 182 n. 1). The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* has "present elephants and horses and gold and beautiful things and win over" (p. 522), which perhaps implies a plot along the lines of the Trojan horse.

77. "Feel free [to depart]": *yassa dāni tvaṃ kālaṃ maññasi;* literally, "If you think it is the right time, go now." This is a set expression meaning "Go if you wish" and includes the idea of "You may depart." It has a circumlocutory, refined tone. Rhys Davids's translation, "whatever you think most fitting," is not acceptable. Franke has "Ganz, wie du es für angezeigt hältst" (*Franke DN*, p. 182).

78. MPS, I, 5 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 75–76).

79. *AN*, "Sattakavagga," XX–XXI (vol. 4, pp. 16–17). In the *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 34 (*T.* 2:738a–c), the story is described more simply. The *Yu-hsing-ching* has no equivalent passage. (The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, and the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* say that the Licchavī (plural) were taught the seven principles for ensuring that their country did not fall. The Licchavis were the leading family of Vesālī.)

80. In the Sanskrit recension, *ye te vṛjīnāṃ caturdikṣu vṛjicaityās tan satkurvanti gurukurvanti mānayanti pūjayanti* (I, 33 and 34; *Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 114).

81. "A place of the spirits": *ling-yü* (靈域) or *ling-ti* (靈地).

82. *Sv.*, p. 521.

83. "*Yeh-ch'a*": 夜叉.

84. *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc.1 (*T.* 1:162c); *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:177c); *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:196a).

85. "Shrine": *miao* (廟); *tz'u-t'ang* (祠堂).

86. E. J. Rapson, "Chaitya," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 3, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910), p. 335b.

87. Vajjīnaṃ Vajji-cetiyānī *ti Vajji-rājūnaṃ Vajjiraṭṭhe citti-kataṭṭhena cetiyānī ti, laddhanāmāni yakkha-ṭṭhānāni* (*Sv.*, p. 520).

88. *Utt.*, IX, 9; Hermann Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, part 2, vol. 45 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1895), p. 36 n. 2.

89. *Utt.*, XX, 2–3.; Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. 45 of SBE, p. 100 n. 3.

90. *Franke DN*, passim.

91. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, p. 242 n. 3.

92. Ernst Windisch, *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), p. 68 n. 4.

93. *Divyāv.*, p. 201.

94. "Holy place": *shen-ti;* 神地 (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:180b]). "Under the sacred tree": *shen-shu-hsia;* 神樹下 (*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:164c]). "Che-p'o-lo mound": *che-p'o-lo-t'a;* 遮婆羅塔 (*Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:15b]). "Che-po-lo *caitya*": *che-po-lo chih-t'i;* 遮波羅支堤 (*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* [*T.* 1:191b]). "Under the tree of the Chü-kung *caitya*": *chü-kung chih-ti shu-hsia;* 取弓制底樹下 (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih* [*T.* 24:387c]).

95. *"Tsung-miao":* 宗廟.

96. *"Bhikkhu"* (Pāli; Skt., *bhikṣu*). In Brahmanism, this word referred to lone wandering ascetics who lived by alms. However, when applied to Buddhism, the word implies the members of a group. (Early Buddhist poetry calls Buddhist practitioners *isi* ("seers"), but prose explanations and later writings substitute *bhikkhus* for *isi*. "Meeting hall": *upaṭṭhānasālā*. Rhys Davids translates this term as "Service Hall" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 81). Franke says that it should not be translated as "Kult-Halle," since it was a place where people met together ("Empfangs-Saale," probably "Versammlungshalle"). In the *Jātaka*, no. 382 (vol. 3, p. 257), it refers to a hall inside a merchant's house. The Sanskrit *upasthāna* means "aufwartung" (*Franke DN*, p. 182 n. 3). Later, when such halls were built in monasteries (*vihāra*) as places for meditation and lectures, *upaṭṭhānasālā* acquired the sense of "lecture hall."

97. "Yes, Master": *evaṃ bhante*. In Pāli and Sanskrit, as in English, the level of politeness in conversation is indicated by the term used to address the other speaker. Sometimes, therefore, mention of the addressee's name in translation can be intrusive and it is better to use it sparingly for an easier flow of language.

98. "To live in forest dwellings": That this condition was mentioned at all may imply that at the time there was already some aversion to dwelling in forests.

99. MPS, I, 6 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 76–77).

100. "Do not entertain . . . evil desires": This passage suggests that Buddhism did not advocate suppressing natural desires and longing (*icchā*), but controlling evil desires (*pāpicchā*) that cause harm.

101. "*Nibbāna*": Skt., *nirvāṇa; nieh-p'an* (涅槃) in Chinese. *Nibbāna* is the condition in which the flames of delusions have been extinguished; the ideal state where there are no more delusions.

102. MPS, I, 7 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 77–78).

103. "Shame, fear of doing wrong": *hirimanā bhavissanti, ottāpi bhavissanti*. These expressions are translated into Chinese as *ts'an* (慚), and *k'uei* (愧), respectively. Many scholars have discussed the nature of the difference between these two phrases. Buddhaghosa calls the first "aversion to evil," and the second "the fear that wrongdoing will bring something bad upon oneself" (hiri-manā *ti pāpā-jugucchana-lakkhaṇāya hiriyā yutta-cittā*, ottāpino *ti pāpato bhāyana-lakkha-ṇena ottappena samannāgatā* [*Sv.*, p. 529]). *Hiri* seems to be subjective, while *ottappa* seems to be objective (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 297). Rhys Davids translates *ahirikā* as "shamelessness," and *anottappaṃ* as "forwardness" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 83 n. 3). "Mindfulness": *sati* (Pāli; Skt., *smṛti*); "keep in mind," "pay attention," "calmness of mind." For example, in Sri Lanka, when a young novice drops a bowl because his mind is wandering, his master will admonish him, saying, "*Sati! Sati!*" ("Be calm!"). Heinrich Lüders translates it as "vollbewusst" (*BSBU*, §226, pp. 157–58). The word has traditionally been translated into Chinese as *nien* (念).

104. MPS, I, 8 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 78–79).

105. These seven conditions are generally known as the "seven factors, or parts, of enlightenment" (Skt., *sapta bodhyaṅgāni;* Pāli, *satta bojjhaṅgā*). They are known variously in Chinese: *ch'i-chüeh-chih* (七覚支), *ch'i-chüeh-fen* (七覚分), *ch'i-p'u-ti-fen* (七菩提分), and *ch'i-teng-chüeh-chih* (七等覚支). The individual factors are *nien* (念, "mindfulness"), *tse-fa* (択法, "investigation of the Dharma"), *ching-chin* (精進, "endeavor"), *hsi* (喜, "joy"), *ch'ing-an* (軽安, "tranquillity"), *san-mi* (三昧, "concentration"), and *hsing-she* (行舎, "equanimity"). See also the Sanskrit recension, 30, 21.

106. MPS, I, 9 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 79).

107. MPS, I, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 79–80)

108. *AN*, VII, 20; in the *Tseng-i a-han-ching*, fasc. 34 (*T.* 2:738), the seven conditions are taught as an independent unit to Vassakāra, with no reference to any other versions of the formula.

109. "Acts of the body": *kāyakammaṃ;* in Chinese, *shen-yeh* (身業).

110. "Acts of speech": *vacīkammaṃ;* in Chinese, *k'ou-yeh* (口業).

111. "Acts of mind": *manokammaṃ;* in Chinese, *i-yeh* (意業).

112. *Samādhisaṃvattakāni tathārūpesu sīlesu sīlasāmañña-gatā viharissanti.* This phrase is not clear. "So long as the brethren shall live among the saints in the practice, both in public and private, of those virtues. . . ." (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 85); "Solonge die Bhikkhu's . . . auf Konzentration abzielenden Prinzipien der sittlichen Zucht verfahren werden" (*Franke DN*, p. 185). Buddhaghosa interprets it as "reaching a common level with the *bhikkhus* in other parts of the country regarding the precepts" (*Sv.*, p. 537). A similar passage appears in *AN*, IV, 52 (vol. 2, p. 56, *l.* 2–p. 57, *l.* 2).

113. "Unbroken . . . leading to concentration": This description of the precepts is repeated in this sutra (II, 9). "Leading to freedom": *bhujissāni. Rhys Davids DN* has "productive of freedom" (p. 85). The *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* has: to be liberated from the slaves of ignorance, attachment, lust, and desire (*taṇhā-dāsavyato mocetvā*) and become free (p. 537). Franke uses "befriend" (*Franke DN*, p. 185).

114. "Those who practice it": *takkara* (= *tathākārin; Sv.*, p. 537). "Excellent": *ariya* (= *niddosa*, "stainless"; *Sv.*, p. 537).

115. "These six": With the exception of the fourth item, an identical list of five appears in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, "Pañcaka-Nipāta," 105 (vol. 3, p. 132) as the "five conditions for a happy life" (*pañca phāsuvihārā*). The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* contains those five, plus the more prosaic clause about the sharing of alms. It was doubtless added after *bhikkhus* began leading a communal life. Thus this sutra contains teachings that postdate the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*.

116. MPS, I, 11 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 80–81).

117. For the threefold practice (*tisso sikkhā*)—morality (*adhisīla-sikkhā*), concentration (*adhicitta-sikkhā*), and wisdom (*adhipañña-sikkhā*)—see *AN*, vol. 1, pp. 232–34; *Itiv.*, no. 59, pp. 50–51.

118. "Perfected": *paribhāvitāni*. An egg is called *paribhāvita* when it hatches after being warmed by the mother bird in the nest (*MN*, vol. 1, p. 104; *SN*, vol. 3, p. 153). In medicine, *paribhāvita* means "charged with," "impregnated with." Cf. *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 380, *ll.* 19–20 (*osadhaparibhāvitam*); vol. 4, p. 407; *Milindapañha*, pp. 361, 382, 394 (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 86 n. 1).

119. "Stain": *āsava;* in Chinese, *lou* (漏), "leak."

120. "Stain of false views": *diṭṭhāsava* (= *diṭṭhi* + *āsava*).

121. MPS, I, 12 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 81).

122. The names of the places Gotama passed through, and their order, differ slightly from those in the Sanskrit recension and the Tibetan and Chinese translations. For a detailed comparison in diagrammatic form, see Kaijō Ishikawa, "Daihatsu nehangyō sankanbon no arikata ni tsuite" (On the three-fasicle *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*), in *Indo tetsugaku to Bukkyō no shomondai—Ui Hakuju Hakushi kanreki kinen ronbunshū* (Indian philosophy and various problems in Buddhism: A collection of essays in commemoration of Dr. Hakuju Ui's sixtieth birthday; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1951), pp. 47–70. The Pāli recension gives some names of towns and villages between Vesālī and Kusinārā, but they cannot be identified.

123. "Ambalaṭṭhikā": A beautiful park between Rājagaha and Nālandā, and the site of a villa belonging to the king (see *DN*, no. 1, *Brahmajāla-suttanta*).

124. "Come": *āyāma*. According to Buddhaghosa, this word is derived from *ehi yāma* ("come, let us go"). Another recension has *ayāma*, meaning *gacchāma* ("let us go"; *Sv.*, p. 537).

125. MPS, I, 15 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 81).

126. This point was discussed in the previous paragraph. The dialogue in section 16 appears in greater detail in the *Sampasādanīya-suttanta* (*DN*, vol. 3, pp.

99–100) and the "Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta" (*SN*, vol. 5, p. 159). Aśoka's Bhabra edict mentions a sutra called "The Questions of Upatissa" (that is, "The Questions of Sāriputta"), which may quote this dialogue.

127. MPS, I, 18 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 83–84).

128. The Sanskrit recension has *tatra bhagavān āyuṣmantam Ānandam āmantrayate, āgamayānanda yena Pāṭaligrāmakaḥ*. The Sanskrit recension, in using *āgamaya* ("lead me on") in contrast to the Pāli *āyāma* ("let us go"), expresses clearly the personality of the old man Gotama had become. Since the Sanskrit does not mention that he was accompanied by "a large number of *bhikkhus*" (*mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena*), as do the Pāli and Sarvāstivādin recensions, this phrase may be later coloration.

129. Paṭnā (पटना).

130. MPS, I, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 84).

131. "Spread mats over": *yathā sabbaṃ santhataṃ hoti evaṃ-santhari.*

132. MPS, I, 21 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 84).

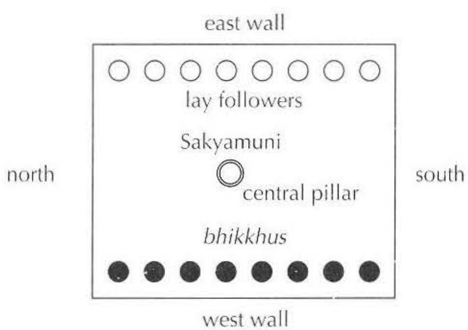
133. *Sv.*, p. 447.

134. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:12a–b).

135. MPS, I, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 84).

136. *Āvasathāgāraṃ ti āgantukānaṃ āvasathagehaṃ* (*Sv.*, p. 538).

137. "Took up his outer robe and bowl": *patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya*. Here *cīvara* ("robe") means the upper, or outer, robe. "Facing the east" means facing the entrance (*Franke DN*, p. 188). A simple chart of the seating arrangement appears below.



138. That Gotama was "sitting in front of them" means that they were behind him (*Franke DN*, p. 188).

139. "Facing the west" means that they were sitting against the wall where the entrance was, facing the west wall at the far end of the hall (*Franke DN*, p. 188).

140. MPS, I, 22 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 85). See also *Waldschmidt Skt.*, I, 19–34.

141. MPS, I, 25 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 86).

142. MPS, I, 23–25 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 85–86).

143. "One who does evil, breaking the precepts": *dussīlassa sīlavipattiyā*. The Sanskrit recension has *pramattaḥ pramādādhikaraṇa-hetor. . . .* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 139). The Tibetan version agrees: *bad med pa dan ldan shin / bag med pa la gnas paḥi rgyus* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 139). The word *dussīla* means "one whose actions are evil," "one of bad character." Here *sīla* does not mean "precepts," but is used in a more general way to mean "habit."

144. "Reborn in an evil state, a painful state, a fallen state, in a hell": *apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati*. Rhys Davids does not translate these four phrases directly, but paraphrases: "he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 91), stating in a footnote that *apāya, duggati,* and *vinipāta* are synonyms. Franke translates it as "er kommt . . . in Leid, Qual, an die Orte der Pein, in die Hölle" (*Franke DN*, p. 189), but this does no more than substitute words. The word *niraya* does not translate well as "hell" in a Western sense, that is, a state of eternal fall and punishment. Buddhism thinks of hell as a place from which release is possible after all sin has been erased.

145. "Not unhinged upon death": This is the concept of "right thoughts upon death," emphasized in later Pure Land Buddhism.

146. "Far into the night": *bahud eva rattiṃ*, a compound expression.

147. "Entered an empty room": see *Vinaya*, vol. 3, p. 93.

148. Among Chinese translations, the *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:12a) has *chu ch'ing-hsin-shih* (諸清信士; *upāsaka;* "lay followers"), the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:162b) has *shih-hsin* (逝心; *brāhmaṇa*) and *li-chia* (理家; *gṛhapati;* "householders"), and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:177c) has *fan-chih* (梵志; *brāhmaṇa*) and *chü-shih* (居士; "householders").

149. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, V, 1, pp. 144–46.

150. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:12b).

151. MPS, I, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 86); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VI, 28, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 228–29). For the prophecy about the future of Pāṭaliputra, see the *Yu-hsing-ching* in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:12a–c), and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:177c–78a).

152. "Sunīdha": Like Vassakāra, he was a Brahmin (*Sv.*, p. 540). "Vassakāra": In other recensions only the Magadhan minister's name, Varṣākāra, appears. "Ministers": *mahāmatta* (= *mahā-amacca; Sv.*, p. 540). This term appears only in Buddhist texts, in inscriptions from the Maurya dynasty and the periods immediately preceding and following it, and in the Greek dictionary of Hesychius. It was not used in later periods. I deal with this in my *Indoshi I* (History of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1997).

153. "A fortress" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92); "eine (befestigte) Stadt" (*Franke DN*, p. 190).

154. H. Jacobi, trans., *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 42 (*Jaina Sūtras*, part 1, vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. xiv n. 1).

155. "Kusumapura or Pupphapura": Hsüan-tsang writes: "The city of Chü-su-mo-pu-lo [translated into Chinese as 'the scented and flowery palace'] because of the many flowers in the palace" (*Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 8 [*T.* 51:910c]). See Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, p. 179, and Chizen Akanuma, ed., *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, pp. 496–97. See also *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VI, 28, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 228–29).

156. "Thousands": literally, "counting in thousands" (*sahassass' eva*), "several thousand." "Deities": *devatāyo*. *Devatā* is a term applied to minor deities or spirits, in contrast to *deva*, the higher gods. "Fairies" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92); "Gottheiten" (*Franke DN*, p. 190). The term refers to tree deities, etc. "Areas": *vatthūni ti ghara-vatthūni* (*Sv.*, p. 540); generally, the land on which a dwelling stands. "Places": Perhaps the places deities and *yakkhas* preferred were quiet, with luxuriant tree cover. Such deities dwelt in trees in quiet places. "In the places . . . choose to occupy": When someone decided to build a house, he used the study of sites (*vatthu-vijjā*, "having knowledge of sites") like astrology to determine a lucky site. Buddhaghosa speaks of this in considerable detail (*Sv.*, p. 540). See *Rhys Davids DN*, vol. 1, p. 18n. The study of sites was a form of divination, rejected by early Buddhists as confusing people's minds.

157. "In the early morning": *rattiyā paccusa-samayaṃ*, "dawn."

158. "The deities in the heaven of the thirty-three deities": *devā Tāvatiṃsā*. "The gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92). This is the form in which the thirty-three deities of the *Ṛg Veda* entered Buddhism. Later Abhidharma doctrine considered this heaven to be the second heaven in the realm of desire, situated above Mount Sumeru. In the center of the heaven abides Indra (the most powerful of the *Ṛg Veda* deities), surrounded by eight deities in each of the four directions. Cf. *AN*, vol. 3, p. 339; *Sv.*, p. 310; *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 262.

159. MPS, I, 26–28 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 86–88).

160. MPS, I, 28 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 87–88). The same text appears in *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VI, 28, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 228–29). "As long as . . . is a great city": *yāvatā . . . ariyaṃ āyatanaṃ*. "As far as Aryan people resort" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92); "soweit Arier wohnen" (*Franke DN*, p. 190). These translations are based on Buddhaghosa's interpretation (= *yattakaṃ ariya-manussānaṃ osarana-ṭṭhāṃ*; *Sv.*, pp. 540–41). It is open to question whether Buddhaghosa meant just the Aryan people here or not. Except in nominal and superficial cases, the Aryans as a people are not especially venerated in the Buddhist texts. I therefore think that Rhys Davids's and Franke's translations are not apt. In the case of the Noble Eightfold Path, *ariya* ("noble") has the meaning of "sacred," with no connection at all to the Aryan race. Chinese translations generally deal with *ariya* in this way. However, it is unlikely that Pāṭaliputra would have been described as "sacred." *Ariya*, when used colloquially, means "fine" or "wonderful." "A center of collection and dispersal of goods": *puṭabhedana* (= *bhaṇḍa-puṭa-bhedana-ṭṭhānaṃ* = *bhaṇḍabhaṇḍikānaṃ mocanaṭṭhānaṃ*; *Sv.*, p. 541). "A centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92); "Zentralpunkt für den Transithandel" (*Franke DN*, p. 190). Franke examines the meaning of the term in careful detail (*Franke DN*, p. 190n). Though all the problems with the term have not been resolved, it probably had some such meaning as the ones mentioned here.

161. L. A. Waddell, *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pātaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks, and Description of the Superficial Remains* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1892); Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra (Patna), the Palibothra of the Greeks* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903); D. B. Spooner, "The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History," *JRAS* (1915): 82.

162. The reference appears in Jacobi, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, p. 42. For a detailed discussion of the changes in Pāṭaliputra and the city's eventual destruction, see K. T. Telang, *Mudrārākṣasa by Viśākhadatta*, no. 27 of Bombay Sanskrit Series (Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1884), introduction, p. 22ff. Refuting Telang's argument, S. V. Venkateswara says that proof remains that Pāṭaliputra still existed at the end of the ninth century (Venkateswara, "The Date of Śaṇkarāchārya," *JRAS* [1916]: 153).

163. "Khāravela": The inscription is from the Hāthigumphā Cave on Mount Udayagiri near Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa. "Greeks": According to the *Gārgī-saṃhitā*. Many scholars identify the Greek king who conquered Pāṭaliputra as Menander. I deal with this further in my *Indoshi I*.

164. Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, trans., *Vinaya Texts*, part 2, vol. 17 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1882; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 102 n. 1; *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 92 n. 3.

165. MPS, I, 29–30 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 88).

166. "They exchanged glad words": The same expression appears in the *Suttanipāta*, v. 419.

167. "Prepared a fine meal": *paṇītaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā*. *Khādaniya* refers to hard foods that must be chewed; *bhojaniya* refers to soft foods that can be swallowed without chewing.

168. "Washed his hands and bowl": The Indians of the Buddha's time ate with their right hands and so would wash them, as well as their bowls, after a meal.

169. "Those who follow the Pure Practice, virtuous and self-controlled": *sīlavant' ettha bhojetvā saññate brahmacārayo* (virtually the same as *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 299, *l.* 36; *Ud.*, p. 89, *l.* 21.) "Dort speise er die tugendhaften, beherrschten, den heiligen Wandel lebenden" (*SKP*, §306, p. 305), which indicates that *brahmacārayo* is the accusative plural form. "Will transfer [the merit of] that donation": *tāsaṃ dakkhiṇaṃ ādise* (Cf. *Therīg.*, 307, 311; *Milindapañha*, p. 294). "Will honor those who honor them": "[The deities], if they are venerated and honored at a suitable time, think:

'These men are not our relatives, and yet they make offerings to us during four or six months,' and they will honor them and take away any danger that threatens them" (*Sv.*, p. 542). "Her child": *puttaṃ orasaṃ* (= *ure ṭhapetvā saṃvaḍḍhitaṃ*). The child of one's breast (*Sv.*, p. 542). "Happy": *bhadrāni* (= *sundarāni; Sv.*, p. 542).

170. MPS, I, 31 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 88–89).

171. "Universal love": *chien-ai;* 兼愛 (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:178a]).

172. "Ford": *tittha* (Pāli; Skt., *tīrtha*). Also, "landing stage," "access by steps from a cliff to a boat or bathing place." *Tīrtha* later came to mean "place of pilgrimage."

173. MPS, I, 32 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 89).

174. "Even a crow could drink the water": *kākapeyya* (Pāli; Skt., *kākapeya*). The same image is found in Pure Land scriptures in reference to the lotus pond of the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī ("supreme joy"), which is filled with water. "Raft": The Pāli word for the large raft is *ulumpa*, which refers to planks of wood bound together, and the small raft is *kulla*, which is made of vines (*Sv.*, p. 542). The Chinese translators translated the former as *fa* (筏) and the latter as *fu* (桴). However, *kulya* (Skt.; Pāli, *kulla*) is sometimes translated as *fa* (筏), for example, in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Chin-kang-ching* (Diamond Sutra, *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*). "As quickly as a strong man stretches out a bent arm, and again bends the outstretched arm": a favorite expression in Buddhist writings, indicating an extremely small amount of time.

175. "Words of inspiration": *udāna;* words spoken by the Buddha in response to some event. For a detailed examination, see my *Budda no shinri no kotoba, kankyō no kotoba* (The Buddha's words of truth, the words of inspiration), Iwanami Bunko (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978), p. 386 et seq.

176. "Lake": *saraṃ* (= *nadi; Sv.*, p. 542).

177. MPS, I, 33–34 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 89).

178. *Sv.*, p. 542.

179. "Becoming an immortal": *sheng-hsien* (昇仙).

180. MPS, II, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 90). "Koṭigāma": "The village built at the side of [King] Mahāpanāda's palace" (*Samantapāsādikā*, p. 542). This interpretation probably arose because *koṭi* means "extreme end." The Sanskrit version gives "Kuṭigrāmaka" (VIII, 2, p. 160), the Tibetan gives *groṅ-khyer spyil-po-can*, and the Chinese gives "Chü-lin-chü," 拘隣聚 (*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:163a]); "Chü-li-i," 拘利邑 (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:178b]); "Chü-li-ts'un," 拘利村 (*Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:13a]).

181. "Four Noble Truths": *cattāri ariyasaccāni.* The term *ariya* means "the truth that creates a condition of holiness [*ariya-bhāva-kara*]" (*Sv.*, p. 542). "Not been realized": *ananubodha* (= *abujjhana* = *ajānana; Sv.*, p. 542), that is, I and you have not known. "From existence to existence": *sandhāvita* (= *bhavato bhavaṃgamana-vasena saṃdhāvitaṃ; Sv.*, pp. 542–43). This means "to transmigrate from the state of one existence to the state of another existence." "The round of birth and death": *saṃsarita* (= *punappuna gaman'āgamana-vasena saṃsaritaṃ; Sv.*, p. 543); "making a continuous round of rebirths, going from existence to existence."

182. "The craving for existence": *bhava-taṇhā*, the blind impetus to cling to individual existence. It is compared to thirst. Franke's translation, *der Durst nach Sein*, is not acceptable. *Bhava* is "existence," while *bhāva* is "being": different concepts. "The craving for future life" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 96) is acceptable. This and the next two sentences are set passages found in many places in the Buddhist sutras. See the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, IV, 2. "The [craving] that leads to existence has been eliminated": *bhava-netti samūhatā* = *bhavato bhavaṃ nayana-samatthā taṇhā-rajju suṭṭhu hatā chinnā appavattikatā.* "The bonds of blind attachment that are capable of leading to existence after existence have been well severed, and are no longer functioning" (*Sv.*, p. 543).

183. MPS, II, 2 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 90). This section appears again later in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (IV, 2).

184. "Sugata": the Well Departed, one of the Buddha's ten epithets. The Chinese translations give *shan-shih* (善逝).

185. "Traversed": *saṃsita* (= *saṃsarita*, "transmigrating"; *Sv.*, p. 543).

186. MPS, II, 3 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 90–91).

187. MPS, II, 4 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 91).

188. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, VIII, 1–7, p. 160.

189. MPS, I, 12, 14, 18; II, 4, 10, 20, etc.

190. MPS, IV, 23 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23).

191. Nādikā in the Sanskrit text. The name Nādika appears three times in the following section (II, 5) in the Pāli text, the first two mentions in the plural as the name of a clan or tribe, and the third one in the singular, as a place name with its origins in the name of a tribe. According to Buddhaghosa (*Sv.*, p. 543), there were two villages beside a reservoir; the singular usage Nādika indicates just one of them. "Brick House": *Giñjakāvasathe ti iṭṭhakā-maye āvasathe* (*Sv.*, p. 543). The Sanskrit recension has *Kuñjikāvasatha.* Most Indian dwellings at the time were built of wood and had thatched roofs. Very few brick structures predating the Mauryan period (other than those of the Indus Valley civilization) have been discovered by archaeologists.

192. "Stayed": According to the recitation pattern, the traveler arrives at *A* and stays at *B*, *A* being a town or village and *B* being the name of the place where the traveler lodged. There is no figure of speech to indicate only *A* or only *B*.

193. MPS, II, 5 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 91).

194. Tetsurō Watsuji, "Genshi Bukkyō no jissen tetsugaku" (Practical philosophy of early Buddhism), in *Watsuji Tetsurō Zenshū* (The complete works of Tetsurō Watsuji), vol. 5 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), p. 109 et seq.; *Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 160–71. "*Dhammī kathā*": MPS, II, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 94).

195. "Said": see the next section (II, 7) and the notes relating to it.

196. "Male lay believer": *upāsaka*, which is transliterated into Chinese as *yu-p'o-se* (優婆塞).

197. "Female lay believer": *upāsikā*, which is transliterated into Chinese as *yu-p'o-i* (優婆夷) and sometimes translated as *shan-hsin-ju* (善信女).

198. "The five fetters that bind people to the lower realm [the realm of desire]": *pañca orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni*. Buddhaghosa says that the five fetters cause living beings to transmigrate within the realm of desire (*heṭṭhā-bhāgiyānaṃ, kāmabhaveyeva paṭisandhi-gāhāpakānan ti attho; Sv.*, p. 543). The Abhidharma doctrine of Hīnayāna Buddhism calls them the five lower (= realm of desire) fetters (*wu-hsia-fen-chieh*). "Bonds," or "fetters" (*chieh*; 結), is another name for the defilements. The five fetters here are greed in the realm of desire, anger, false views about a permanent self, attachment to heretical practices (mistaken precepts and regulations, and thinking that they are correct), and doubt or perplexity.

199. "The three fetters": *tīni saṃyojanāni*, which is translated into Chinese as *san-chieh* (三結). The three defilements that all stream-enterers (see note 206 in this chapter) must destroy are: 1) false views about a permanent self (thinking that the self is ultimately real); 2) attachment to heretical practices (mistaken precepts, and thinking that practicing them will bring about emancipation); and 3) doubt or perplexity (doubting the correct doctrine). "Reduced greed, anger, and delusion": The same text appears in VI, 6, and also in the *Mahāli-sutta*, *DN*, no. 6 (vol. 1, p. 156); *Janavasabha-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 18 (vol. 2, p. 201); *AN*, vol. 2, p. 238, etc. Cf. *Divyāv.*, pp. 533–34. For a close analysis, see *Rhys Davids DN*, vol. 1, pp. 190–91. "Once-returner": *sakadāgāmin*, translated into Chinese as *i-lai* (一来). "He will put an end to all suffering": *dukkhass' antaṃ karissati*. This is an old verse form that has been changed into prose (*Franke DN*, p. 195 n. 9).

200. "Stream-enterer": *sotāpanna*. See note 206 in this chapter. "Certain of attaining enlightenment": *niyatā saṃbodhiparāyanā*. In ancient Indian writing, when another language was being used, adverbial expressions were sometimes treated adjectivally. Here, *niyatā* is an appositive with the following word, but it has an adverbial meaning (*dhammaniyamena; Sv.*, p. 544).

201. "Never to return [to this world]": *anāvatti*. This expression corresponds to the Abhidharma concept of the nonreturner (*anāgāmin*). Later Abhidharma scholarship posited eight stages of effort and attainment: stream-enterer, once-returner, nonreturner, and *arhat* (see note 206 in this chapter). In this passage, however, we have the once-returner and stream-enterer in reverse order, and employing different expressions, and the nonreturner recorded as *anāvatti*, not *anāgāmin*. The *arhat* stage is not mentioned. The text says that becoming a nonreturner means entering *nibbāna* directly. There is more similarity here to Upanishadic thought than to Abhidharma Buddhist philosophy. The *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (VIII, 15, 1) and *Vāsudeva Upaniṣad* say that one who realizes the Truth, who is liberated, no longer returns to this world (*na ca punar āvartate*). It is noteworthy that the thought represented in the sutra is from an era earlier than the time of Abhidharma scholarship, and in both thought and expression (*anāvatti*) it is close to those of the Upaniṣads.

202. "Mirror of Dhamma": *dhammādāsa* (= *dhamma-mayaṃ ādāsaṃ; Sv.*, p. 544).

203. "Has pure faith": *aveccappasāda*. "Because he knows in truth the varied glorious virtues of the Buddha, he has aroused in himself a clear [and firm] faith that is immovable and undying" (*Buddha-guṇānaṃ yathābhūtato ñātattā acalena accutena pasādena [samannāgato]; Sv.*, p. 544). Buddhaghosa thinks here that religious faith begins with knowing.

204. The ten epithets of the Buddha.

205. "Visualizable here and now": *sandiṭṭhika*, "to be able to grasp directly." Other examples of this expression appear in *SN*, IV, 3, 1, 3 (vol. 1, p. 117) and *Jātaka*, no. 411, v. 3 (vol. 3, p. 394). "Directly efficacious": *akālika*. *Akālika* refers to "directly." A. K. Warder (*Introduction to Pali* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974], p. 386) translates *akālika* as "timeless," but this is not clear. "Passing not away" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 99) brings too much Western philosophy to the interpretation. Closer and applicable to the example are "without delay, immediate" (R. C. Childers, *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* [London: Trübner, 1875], p. 22) and "nicht erst in einer ungewissen Zukunft" (*Franke DN*, p. 196). The concept becomes clearer when *kālika* and *sandiṭṭhika* are compared, e.g., *kiṃ sandiṭṭhikaṃ hitvā kālikaṃ anudhāvissāma* (*MN*, no. 70, *Kīṭāgiri-suttanta*, vol. 1, p. 475). Here, *kālika* is translated by Franke (*loco citato*) as "eine Sache, für die die Zeit erst noch kommen wird." "Verifiable": *ehi-passika*. The expression derives from Sakyamuni's call to followers, "Come, see!" (*ehi passa*). Thus the literal meaning is "to be able to be said, 'Come and see.'" Rhys Davids's translation of "welcoming all" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 99) has rather a Gospel flavor, in the Western sense. More apt are "verifiable" (A. K. Warder, *Introduction to Pali*, p. 393) and "einen Wert haben, der offen vor Augen liegt" (*Franke DN*, pp. 196–97). "Leading to the ideal": *opanayika*. Cf. *upanīta*, in *MN*, no. 38, *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhaya-sutta*, vol. 1, p. 265, *l.* 29; *upaniyya*, in *DN*, no. 3, *Ambaṭṭha-sutta*, II, 15; *Sv.*, vol. 1, p. 276.

206. "Eight stages of effort and attainment": *cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭha purisa-puggalā*, the four stages of the sage, each divided into two substages, one of effort and one of attainment. The stages are stream-enterer (Skt., *srota-āpanna;* Pāli, *sotāpanna*), once-returner (Skt., *sakṛd-āgāmin;* Pāli, *sakadāgāmin*), nonreturner (Skt. and Pāli, *anāgāmin*), and *arhat* (Skt.; Pāli, *arahant*). Abhidharma Buddhism taught that stages of practice were divided into the practice aimed at attaining the goal and the stage itself that had been thus won (*phala*, "fruit," "result"). At the stream-enterer's stage of effort, the practitioner overcomes the eighty-eight defilements of views (delusions of the three realms—desire, form, and formlessness) that are based on reasoning, as he passes through the fifteen mental states (*citta*). He or she eventually destroys all delusions based on reasoning and enters the sixteenth mental state, which is a stream-enterer's stage of attainment. A once-returner's stage of effort consists of

overcoming six of the nine defilements of practice in the realm of desire; having done so, he or she achieves the stage of attainment of a once-returner. During a nonreturner stage of effort, the final three of the nine defilements of practice are destroyed, at which point the practitioner reaches the stage of attainment of a nonreturner. This means that he or she will never be reborn into the realm of desire. An *arhat's* stage of effort involves the practice for attaining the *arhat* stage, at which point the practitioner overcomes all defilements of delusion and practice, transmigration in the deluded realms ends, and the *arhat* gains entry to nirvana. A number of other subtle interpretations exist as well (see *A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun* [*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*], fasc. 23 [*T.* 29:121b et seq.]).

207. "Precepts": *sīlāni.* The word refers to the five precepts maintained by a wise person (*ariya-sāvaka*), but can also connote the regulations (*saṃvara*) for ordained practitioners (*Sv.*, p. 544).

208. This passage, except "are loved by the sages," is the same as in I, 11 of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*

209. MPS, II, 6–10 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 91–94). "Such and such are the precepts . . . the stain of ignorance": This passage is similar to I, 12 of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (see notes 117–21 in this chapter).

210. Vesālī (Pāli; Skt., Vaiśālī). Its site lies within the modern village of Basarh (see Tsūshō Byōdō, "Kabirajō oyobi Bisharijō ni tsuite" [Kapilavatthu and Vesālī], p. 33 et seq.). Postwar research on Vesālī includes Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaiśālī Excavations: 1950* (Vaiśālī: Vaiśālī Sangha, 1961; reviewed by A. Tambuello, *East and West* 13 (1962): 223–24). See *BSOAS* 25, part 2 (1962), p. 417; Yogendra Mishra, *An Early History of Vaiśālī*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962 (reviewed by A. D. Pusalkar, *ABORI* 45 [1964]: 169–70); and Alexander Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, new enlarged ed. (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing House, 1975), pp. 373–76. Excavations in the area continue and a museum has been built to house the finds. The Licchavis of Vesālī were powerful rivals of Ajātasattu of Magadha, who eventually conquered them (R. Choudhury, "Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, " *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda, The Oriental Insitute) 13 [Dec. 1963]: 141–48).

211. For a map of Vaiśālī, see *Budda no sekai*, p. 192.

212. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, i, 47 stanza 13 in Schlegel's text (*PW*, vol. 6, col. 1211).

213. *Budda no sekai*, p. 120, pl. 2-26.

214. For a photograph of the column, see *Budda no sekai*, p. 209, pl. 3-31.

215. *Budda no sekai*, p. 132, pl. 2-86.

216. My description is based on the description of Vaiśālī by Vincent A. Smith in J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 12 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), pp. 567–68, and on my own investigations.

217. The succeeding information is based on the description of Vaiśālī in Smith, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 12, pp. 567–68.

218. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2, pp. 266–67; "Bhaddasāla Jātaka" (*Jātaka*, no. 465, vol. 4, p. 144ff.).

219. A photograph of the "Monkey's Pond" appears in *Budda no sekai*, p. 193, pl. 2-157.

220. *Budda no sekai*, p. 128, pl. 2-74.

221. Hajime Nakamura, ed., *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988), p. 603, fig. 31. Sakyamuni is symbolized by the *bodhi* tree and platform on the left. Western pillar of the northern gateway of Stupa no. 1, first century B.C.E. (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-74; Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 74; *WOB*, pl. III-44; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 11a).

222. MPS, II, 11 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 94).

223. Both Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, and Kōgen Mizuno, *Nanden Taizōkyō sōsakuin* (Index to the southern Tripiṭaka; Tokyo: Nihon Gakujujtsu Shinkōkai, 1960), vol. 1, give the feminine form "Ambapālī." This form would be correct if it were interpreted as "woman protecting the mango grove." Monier-Williams gives "Āmrapālī" as the feminine form of "Āmrapāla" (*MW*).

224. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:178c).

225. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:385c).

226. "Well aware": *sampajāno* (e.g., *Sn.*, 931) can be used in the sense of the German word "vollbewusst," with *sato*, "besonnen" (*DN*, vol. 1, p. 37; vol. 2, pp. 94–95; vol. 3, p. 49). It can also be used with a derivative of the root *smṛ*. *Sampakāno patissato*, "conscious, thoughtful" (V. Fausböll, trans., *The Sutta-Nipāta*, vol. 10 of SBE [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881], p. 68); *DN*, vol. 3, p. 224; *Sn.*, 412; *Itiv.*, 10, 19; *ātāpī sampayjāno satimā*, "eifrig, achtsam, geistesklar" (Nyāṇatiloka, *Pali-Anthologie und Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. [München-Neubiberg: O. Schloss, 1928]); *DN*, vol. 3, pp. 58, 221; *AN*, vol. 4, pp. 300–301. The word *sampajāno* is the adjectival form made from the present tense *sampajānan* (*BSBU*, §226, pp. 157–58).

227. "Outer robe": *saṃghāṭi;* literally, "great robe," the largest of the three robes worn by *bhikkhus.*

228. "Chewing": Chewing and eating are expressed in Pāli as *khādati.* The past form is *khādita.* Very occasionally the form *khāyita* appears in Pāli scriptures; this is a remnant of an ancient Eastern Indian language. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," II, 12, 3; "Cullavagga," VI, 2, 1; *Jātaka*, 547, v. 100; *Petavatthu*, 31, 13 (*BSBU*, §112, pp. 98–99). "Tasting": *asite pīte khāyite sāyite.* A similar expression appears in *DN*, vol. 1, p. 70; vol. 2, p. 292; *Puggalapaññatti*, 59, 6; *Milindapañha*, p. 378, *l.* 13. *Sāyati* ("taste") is an eastern Indian form of the western Indian *svādati* that entered Pāli. Ancient Sanskrit generally expresses "taste" as *svādayati* or *āsvādayati* (*BSBU*, §111, pp. 97–98).

229. "A *bhikkhu* should in this way be mindful and well aware": This passage is quoted in *Milindapañha*, p. 378. "Let a brother be mindful and self-possessed"

(*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 101). This teaching appears often in the Pāli scriptures, in particular, the *Mahā-satippaṭṭhāna-suttanta* (*DN*), the *Satippaṭṭhāna-sutta* (*MN*), and the *Satippaṭṭhāna* (*SN*). The topic is also treated in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya; Vinaya*, "Vibhaṅga"; *DN*, vol. 1, p. 70 and vol. 2, p. 290. Cf. *Rhys Davids DN*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81. "Aware": "The Venerable Master saw Ambapālī and so began to teach 'Being aware and mindful' so they should be aware and calm" (*Sv.*, p. 545). Another instance of the need to beware of women appears in the latter part of the same sutra (V, 9; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 141).

230. MPS, II, 12–13 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 94–95).

231. "Had a number of finely decorated carriages prepared": literally, "prepared many, extremely gorgeous carriages" (*bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā*). This descriptive passage does not appear in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Sarvāstivādin texts, and thus should be deleted. The same phrase used for Ajātasattu of Magadha when he went to visit the Buddha at Vulture Peak was added here. It is not likely that a courtesan, however wealthy, would have owned a large number of carriages. Sections 14 through 19 are almost identical to the passage in the *Vinaya*, vol. 1, pp. 231–33. In the *Vinaya* it appears immediately after the poem (*Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 231) quoted in I, 34 of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. What the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (II, 14–19) has occurring in the suburbs of Vesālī, the *Vinaya* has occurring at Koṭigāma.

232. MPS, II, 14 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 95).

233. The original has Ambapālikā here.

234. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VIII, 1, 1–3 (vol. 1, pp. 268–69).

235. "Turned her right shoulder to him, circled the Venerable Master": *padakkhiṇaṃ katvā;* the formal and courteous way of showing respect. This expression was translated into Chinese as *yu-jao* (右遶).

236. MPS, II, 14 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 95).

237. *Ekāṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ kṛtvā* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, XI, 12, p. 182); *ekāṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā* (*AN*, vol. 3, pp. 239–40).

238. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, X, 4–15.

239. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, X, 10, p. 174; *DN*, XXII, 21.

240. R. Choudhury, "Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśālī."

241. MPS, II, 15 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 95–96).

242. "Hey, there": *je;* a call (*ālapana; Sv.*, p. 545)—in fact, a contemptuous form of address.

243. "Territory": *āhāra* (= *janapada; Sv.*, p. 545).

244. "Snapped their fingers": *aṅgulī pothesuṃ;* "knipsten mit den Fingern" (*Franke DN*, p. 200). Buddhaghosa interprets it as "moved the fingers" (*aṅguliṃ cālesuṃ*). The author says that snapping the fingers is an expression of error. "Woman": *ambakā.* Since the woman's name was Ambapālī, this is a play on words. The suffix *-ka, -kā* is a diminutive; "girl" (= *itthikā; Sv.*, p. 545).

245. MPS, II, 16 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 96).

246. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:13c).

247. "Licchavis": transliterated into Chinese as Li-ch'e (隷車). "Five colors": blue (*nīla-vaṇṇa*), yellow (*pīta-vaṇṇa*), red (*lohita-vaṇṇa*), white (*odāta-vaṇṇa*), and black (*kāḷaka-vaṇṇa*). The use of various colors refers to individuals' color preferences. We can assume that the inhabitants of Vesālī were of various races. Chinese traditional medicine relates colors to the directions and the elements (whether this represents the influence of Buddhism is not clear):

Direction	Element	Color
center	earth	yellow
east	wood	blue
south	fire element	red
west	metal	white
north	water	black

248. "Blue": *nīla* (MPS, II, 15; *Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 178); actually, a navy or dark blue. "Canopies": Skt., *chatra* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 178). The canopies, or "halos," behind Buddhist statues represent a transformation of the *chatra*. "Banners": flags. "Retinues": Skt., *parivāra* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 178).

249. "Collided": the wheels and axles were grinding against each other (Pāli, *paṭivaṭṭeti;* MPS, II, 16).

250. "Noble sirs": Pāli, *ayyaputtā* (MPS, II, 16).

251. "One hundred thousand pieces of gold": Pāli, *sata-sahassa* (MPS, II, 16). One hundred multiplied by one thousand, that is, one hundred thousand. "Pieces": *lakkha;* according to the dictionary, *lakkha* is a weight of twenty-four *chu* (a weight equal to one hundred grains of millet). Here it seems to mean a unit of money based on the weight of gold.

252. "Half": The same expression appears in the "Chronicle of Hsiang-chi," chapter 7 of *Shih-chi* (Historical records) by the Chinese historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien (ca. 145–ca. 85 B.C.E.).

253. "Snapped their fingers": "downward motion of the hand," "rubbing the hands," "an expression of regret"; Pāli, *aṅguliṃ potheti* (MPS, II, 16).

254. "Those of you who have not yet seen": The original has "*yesaṃ* . . . ," which is an instrumental (*karaṇa*), indicating the subject of an action (*Sv.*, p. 545); it has the same meaning as *yehi.* . . . "The thirty-three deities": See note 158 in this chapter. "Should look now": "The deities of the thirty-three heavens are splendid and wonderful, brightly colored with blue, etc. Look, for the Licchavi men are as splendid as the deities" (*Sv.*, p. 545).

255. "Look well": *avaloketha* (= *punappuna passatha; Sv.*, p. 545).

256. "Compare": *upasaṃharatha* (= *upanetha; Sv.*, p. 545).

257. MPS, II, 17 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 96–97).

258. See MPS, I, and the discussion on pp. 44–46 in this volume.

259. *Vesāliyaṃ kira Licchavirājūnaṃ sattasahassāni satta ca Licchavī visiṃsu* (*Jātaka*, vol. 3, p. 1). *Vesālinagare gaṇarājakulānaṃ abhisekamaṅgala-pokkhariṇī* (*Jātaka*, vol. 4, p. 148). *Tattha niccakālaṃ rajjaṃ kāretvā vasaṃtānaṃ yeva rājūnaṃ satta-sahassāni satta satāni satta ca rājāno hoṃti* (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 504). *Licchavirājaparisā* (*Sv.*, p. 310).

260. *Jātaka*, vol. 4, pp. 148–49.

261. *Teṣāṃ nāsti parasparanyāyavāditā* nāsti dharmācaraṇaṃ noccamadhyavṛddha-jyeṣṭhānupālitā / ekaika eva manyate / ahaṃ rājā ahaṃ rājeti / na ca kasyacic chiṣyatvam abhyupagacchati na dharmatvam** / tena sāpy apratirūpā //* (*Lalita Vistara*, ed. Salomon Lefmann as *Lalita Vistara: Leben und Lehre des Çâkya-Buddha* (Halle, Germany: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisen hauses, 1902–8), p. 21). The Chinese translation of that sutra, the *Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 3:542a), has "One of the deities said, 'The king of Vaiśālī is rich and respected; the city is peaceful and pleas-ant, with no fears or enemies, and the population is great. There are palaces and gardens, groves, springs, flowers and fruit, and all is as splendid as a heavenly dwelling. Therefore he should be born there. Another deity said, 'The bodhisattva should not be born there, for the people living there do not respect the proper order of things. They respect themselves first. Therefore the bodhisattva should not be born there.'"

* The original has *vādinā*, perhaps a copying error for *vāditā*.

** Here, R. Mitra translates *dharmatvam* as "to study religion" in his *Lalita-Vistara, or Memoirs of the Early Life of Śākya Suñha*, no 15 of Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853–77).

262. "Blue hats": Skt., *nīloṣṇīṣa;* translated into Chinese as *ch'ing-mao* (青帽; "blue hats"; *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 [*T.* 24:386a]). *Uṣṇīṣa* means "turban." Unfamilar with turbans, the Chinese translated the word as "hats."

263. "Attendants": *parivāra* (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 [*T.* 24:386a]). This word is translated as *kuang-shu* (官族; "officials"), betraying a Chinese interpretation.

264. In the manuscript, this ninth verse has many omissions. I have reconstructed it, referring to the Tibetan translation and the Sarvāstivādin text.

265. "Nandana Grove": Tib., *cha-lugs ḥdis skyed mos tshal-gyi gnas su ḥgroḥo. P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:386b), translates "Nandana" as *kuan-fang* (観芳; "beholding fragrance"). This is the grove of Indra, the leader of the thirty-three deities.

266. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XI, 1–9, p. 178.

267. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XI, 3–4; XI, 5–7, pp. 178, 180; *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:386a).

268. "May the Venerable One consent to eating a meal at our house tomorrow": *adhivāsetu . . . bhattam.* A direct translation gives: "Please agree to the taking of food."

269. MPS, II, 18 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 97).

270. This scene is common throughout the Buddhist countries of South Asia. In those places people use their hand rather than implements to eat, and so it is imperative to wash one's hands after each meal. Like modern Zen priests in Japan, the *bhikkhus* would drink the water they had used for washing their bowl.

271. MPS, II, 19 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 97–98).

272. MPS, II, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 98). This passage appeared earlier; see MPS, I, 12.

273. For the instruction for Ambapālī, see *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:13b–14c); *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," VIII, 1; VI, 30; Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, pp. 71, 105; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 30.

274. For the Buddha's teaching activities in Vaiśālī, see also *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, pp. 253, 290; R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1853; 1880), p. 235. The Sanskrit recension records the declaration of the youth Paiṅgika, but this does not appear in the Pāli text.

275. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:13b–c). "The three objects of veneration": the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha. "*Upāsikā*": "female lay follower." "For as long as I live": literally, "until my life runs out."

276. *Yin-ju:* 婬女 (*Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:13]).

277. An-p'o-lo-p'o-li Fu-jen: 菴波羅波利夫人 (*P'i-nai-yeh yao-shih*, fasc. 6 [*T.* 24:26c]) and An-lo Fu-jen: 菴羅夫人 (*T.* 24:28–29).

278. "Five jewels": *wu-pao;* 五宝 (*T.* 1:14a–b). Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, p. 261.

279. A sculpture of the same subject also exists (Gandhāra; Indian Museum, Calcutta [*WOB*, pl. 63]).

280. Kōsaku Maeda, "Yūjo Ambapārī o motomete" (Searching for Ambapālī), *Dōbō*, no. 102 (Nov. 1986): 8–10.

Chapter 8: Falling Ill on the Journey

1. This passage in the Pāli text (II, 21–26) appears also in *SN*, vol. 5, pp. 152–54 ("Satipaṭṭhāna-saṃyutta," XLVII, 9).

2. Beluva-gāmaka (Skt., Veṇugrāmaka). "The small village with a bamboo grove." The diminutive suffix *-ka* means that it was very small. According to the *Vinaya* (vol. 1, p. 233), they were heading for the "Great Forest" (Mahāvana), which was near Vesālī. Buddhaghosa says that it was a "separate village near Vesālī" (Beluva-gāmako *ti Vesālīyā samīpe pāda-gamō* [*Sv.*, p. 546]). *Beluva* means "tree melon or horse chestnut" (Kōgen Mizuno, *Pārigo jiten* [A dictionary of the Pāli language; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1968], p. 206). *Pāda-grāma* (Skt.) can be interpreted as "Vorort" ("suburb") (*Franke DN*, p. 201). Rhys Davids's translation, "at the foot of the hill," is not possible. If *pāda* is interpreted as "Viertel-Dorf" ("the quarter of a village"), it would be usual to write it as *grāma-pāda*. My own feeling is that it should be interpreted as *pāda*, as opposed to *kāya*, in the general Buddhist sense.

3. MPS, II, 21 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 98).

4. MPS, II, 22 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 98–99). "Close friends": According to Buddhaghosa, *sandiṭṭha* means "acquaintance" and *sambhatta* means "a close friend held in affection" (Sandiṭṭhā *ni tattha tattha saṅgamma diṭṭhamattā nātidaḷhamittā.* Sambhattā *ti suṭṭhu bhattā sinehavanto daḷha-mittā* [*Sv.*, p. 546]).

5. MPS, II, 23 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 99). "With great awareness": *sampajān*, "be conscious of," "well aware."

6. "Thought": *etad ahosi;* that is, such thoughts arose.

7. "Life-force": *jīvita-saṃkhāra;* that is, the latent power that sustains life. Cf. *Divyāv.*, p. 203.

8. "Becoming healthy": *khamaniyam.*

9. "Stiffened": *"madhuraka-jāto viyā" ti sañjāta-garubhāvo sañjāta-thaddhā-bhāvo sūle uttāsita-sadiso* ("like a person who has been transfixed with a spear"; *Sv.*, p. 547). "Being bound by the delusion of sorrow, I lost all sense of direction" (*Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 [*T.* 1:15a]). Cf. *AN*, vol. 3, p. 69.

10. "The various teachings": *dhammā.* Buddhaghosa interprets these as the teachings of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna-dhammā; Sv.*, p. 547).

11. "Some teaching": the last teaching (*pacchimo ovādo; Sv.*, p. 547).

12. MPS, II, 23–24 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 99).

13. "Master's fist": *ācariyamuṭṭhi.* Cf. *Jātaka*, vol. 2, pp. 221, 250; *Milindapañha*, p. 144.

14. "Says something": implies "should not say anything."

15. "Tathāgata": Truth-Finder (Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy).

16. "Strapped up": *vegha-missakena* (= *bāha-bandhana-cakka-bandhanādinā paṭisaṅkhāraṇena vegha-missakena; Sv.*, p. 548). "With the help of thongs" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 107); "mit Strikken (?) (künstlich) zusammen gehalaten" (*Franke DN*, p. 203). This expression has occasioned much research, but its sense is not at all clear. (The issues are discussed in detail in *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 107 n. 3, and *Franke DN*, p. 203 n. 3.) The Buddhist scholar Makoto Nagai (1881–1970) used the reading of *veḷu* from another recension instead of *vegha*, interpreting the phrase as "repaired, using a mixture of bamboo." This is undoubtedly how the copier of that other recension understood it. "My": In the Pāli text, *tathāgatassa.* However, there is no indication in ancient verses (*gāthā*) that the Buddha referred to himself as the Tathāgata. This would have been the work of people of later times. I have used the more conversational "my" in the translation.

17. "The concentration of mind that has no outward characteristics": *animittaṃ ceto-samādhiṃ.* Buddhism frequently speaks of the concept of "noncharacteristic," or "formless." Its connection with meditation and *dhyāna* is plain in this passage. Later scholars also discussed a related concept, the "thoughtless trance."

18. MPS, II, 25–26 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 100). Section 26 also appears in *SN*, vol. 5, p. 163. See also *SN*, vol. 3, p. 42. "Islands": *attadīpa* (Skt., *ātmadvīpa;* Tib., *bdag ñid gliṅ;* Sarvāstivādin text [in Chinese], *chou-chu* [洲渚]). Buddhaghosa unmistakably

interprets it as "island:" "Like an island in the great ocean, be an island [something to depend on] to yourselves" (atta-dīpā *ti mahāsamuddagataṃ dīpaṃ viya attānaṃ dīpaṃ patiṭṭhaṃ katvā viharatha*). There is also a Chinese translation which interprets *dīpa* as "light" in the expression, "make yourself the light" (*Shih-chien-ching* in *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 34 [*T.* 1:645c]). The *Yu-hsing-ching* in the *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 2 (*T.* 1:15b) translates it as "make the Dharma ablaze for you." For verification of the correctness of interpreting the word as "island," see Genjun H. Sasaki, *Abidatsuma shisō kenkyū* (A study of Abhidharma philosophy; Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1958), pp. 594–603. "Birth and death" (transmigration) is often compared to the great ocean: *saṃsāra-sāgara. Nirvāṇa*, too, is compared to an island (cf. *Dhp.*, 25).

Those with no experience of being in a flood so great that the opposite bank of the river cannot be seen may find it difficult to understand the impact of the phrases "make yourself an island" and "make the Dharma an island." It may well be that the association of "light" or "lamp," as in "make yourself the light" and "make the Law your light," is far easier to comprehend. A sermon by His Holiness Jitsuō Fujii (1898–1992) of the Jōdo sect's head temple, Chion-in in Kyoto, mentions that in the temple, pairs of lamps burn constantly—one signifies the lamp of the self, and the other the lamp of the Dharma. When only one is installed he understands it to symbolize a merging of the two lamps. A verse by the founder of the Jōdo Shin sect, Shinran, in his *Shōzōmatsu wasan* (Hymn on the Periods of the True Law, the Counterfeit Law, and the Decay of the Law), echoes the same thought:

It is the beacon in the long night of ignorance.
Do not sorrow that the eye of wisdom is in darkness.
It is the raft over the great ocean of birth and death.
Do not mourn that the obstructions of evil are heavy (36).

(I am not saying that His Holiness has been influenced by the thought of Shinran, only that the same idea is present in both.)

19. *Sv.*, p. 546.

20. This passage has been translated from the Pāli version (II, 26) as follows: "Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 108). "So sucht denn, Ānanda, hieniedas Leuchte und Zuflucht in euch selbst, nirgends sonst, und sucht in der Wahrheit Leuchte und Zuflucht, nirgends sonst!" (*Franke DN*, p. 203). The commentary (*Sv.*, p. 548) has the following brief, and not very clear, explanation: Attadīpā *ti mahāsamuddagataṃ dīpaṃ viya attānaṃ dīpaṃ patiṭṭhaṃ katvā viharatha.* Attasaraṇā *ti attagatikā va hotha, mā aññagatikā* ("Look to yourselves. Do not look to any one other.") *Dhammadīpa-dhammasaraṇa-padesu pies' eva nayo.*

21. *Gamissāmi, katam me saraṇam attano* (MPS, III, 50 [*DN*, vol. 2, p. 120]).

22. *Āy.*, I, 6, 3, 3, p. 30, *ll.* 3–4. H. Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, part 1, vol. 22 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1884; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1964), p. 58.

23. *Bhikkhu: DN*, vol. 2, p. 100. This excerpt is from MPS, II, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 100). The next section, which deals with contemplation of the body, feelings, mind, and the objects of mind, receives detailed attention in all the versions, although since it is missing from Pai Fa-tsu's *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, it may be a later accretion.

24. MPS, II, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 100–101). "He will attain the highest stage": *tamatagge te . . . bhavissanti.* The compound word *tamatagge* that appears here should be read *t'amata-agge. Agge* is a singular neuter noun in Māgadhī. In this case it is translated as "they will become that deathless Highest" (Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, *A Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students* [London: Sheldon Press, 1932], p. 159). By contrast, T. W. Rhys Davids follows Buddhaghosa in believing that the middle *t* was inserted for euphony (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 109). I myself do not understand why euphony was necessary. Buddhaghosa interprets the word as follows: "*Tamatagge* means *tama-agge.* The middle *t* has been inserted for the sake of the tone joining the two words. The meaning of the word is that 'these people are truly the greatest [*aggatamā*].' For this reason, all the dark bonds are severed, and these my *bhikkhus* will exist within the highest realm [*uttama-bhāva*]" (*Sv.*, p. 548). So far Buddhaghosa's interpretation is quite acceptable. As a supplementary note, he continues: "*Bhikkhus* striving to practice the four fields of mindfulness are the highest among all the [other] *bhikkhus* who desire to learn." There is no need to read this supplementary note into the text; even without this note, the text is understandable. Incidentally, *uttama* is sometimes interpreted as "taking refuge in the Three Treasures and not falling into the hells" (*ettha ca tīṇi ratanāni mokkhavasena uttamavasena saraṇagatānaṃ apāyesu nibbattiyā abhāvaṃ dīpanatthaṃ. . . .* [*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 96, *ll.* 30–32]). It is also interpreted as *aggaphala = arahatta* (*Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 114, *l.* 3). Cf. *phalagga* (*Mahāvaṃsa*, XV, 209). Since there is no unity among these interpretations, we should rely on the original text rather than on the commentaries of later scholars. "Anyone who desires to learn": *ye keci sikkhā-kāmā.* "To learn" is "to undertake religious training, practice." Rhys Davids considers this line an afterthought. Still, we have to respect the original text as the authoritative. If we understand that "unceasing religious practice" was an ideal of the earliest Buddhists, the idea of the highest stage is quite reasonable. (There is no need to interpret the "highest stage" as the final of the practitioner's four stages of effort and attainment.)

25. For the derivation of *cetiya*, see chapter 7, pp. 42–44 in this volume. The passage quoted here is virtually the same in all recensions; MPS, III, 1–2 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 102).

26. "Took up his outer robe and bowl": *patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya;* the formal procedure when a *bhikkhu* went outdoors.

27. "Mat": *nisīdana.* "This means matting made of a piece of woollen cloth" (*ettha camma-khaṇḍaṃ adhippetaṃ; Sv.*, p. 554).

28. This passage and the passages that follow (III, 1–20) appear also in *AN*, "Aṭṭhaka-Nipāta," LXX, vol. 4, pp. 308–13. The first ten passages also appear in *Ud.*, VI, 1; *SN*, vol. 5, pp. 259–60. An equivalent passage can be found in *Divyāv.*, pp. 200–208. A detailed comparison of the two texts appears in Ernst Windisch, *Māra und Buddha* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1895), pp. 33–86.

29. Pāli: *Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ; Skt: Cāpālaṃ caityaṃ.* The earliest of the Chinese translators interpreted this expression as "tree." The alternative translations often employ such expressions as "he sat beneath a tree" (*Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 [*T.* 1:162c]; *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 2 [*T.* 1:196a]), without referring to *cetiya.*

30. MPS, III, 2 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 102). "Delightful": The Sanskrit and Pāli recensions have *ramaṇīya.* The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:165a), has *ta-le* (大楽; "very delightful"), and the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:191b), and the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:387c), have *she-k'e-ai-le* (甚可愛楽; "extremely lovely and delightful"). The original meaning of *ramaṇīya* is "lovely." "The sacred tree of Udena": *Udena-cetiya. Udena* is the personal name of a certain *yakkha* ("tree spirit"; Skt., *yakṣa*). Buddhaghosa writes: "This refers to a monastery (*vihāra*) built at the place of the sacred tree of the *yakkha* Udena" (*Udena-yakkhassa cetiya-ṭṭhāne kata-vihāro vuccati; Sv.*, p. 554). This interpretation is, of course, from a later period, but it allows *cetiya* to be understood as a place where a *yakkha* lived. "The sacred tree of Sattambaka": literally, "the sacred tree of the seven mangoes." The name was derived from the existence here of seven mango trees. "The sacred tree of Bahuputta": Skt., Bahuputraka. "The sacred tree of Sārandada": Sārandada is the name of a certain *yakkha.* See Chizen Akanuma, ed., *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten* (Dictionary of Indian Buddhist proper names; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), p. 593.

"The sacred tree of Cāpāla": The epic poems by the Indian poet and dramatist Kālidāsa (fourth or fifth century) entitled *Raghuvaṃśa* (Dynasty of Raghu; I, 45) also seem to say that special trees had their own names, *ghoṣavṛddhān upasthitān nāmadheyāni pṛcchantau vanyānāṃ mārgasākhinām* ("The two of them asked an elder cowherd coming nearby the [individual] names of the trees growing in the forest and on the roadside"; Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 68 n. 4).

31. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XV, 9, p. 204.

32. *Citro jambudvīpo madhuraṃ jīvitaṃ manuṣyānām* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 204).

33. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:180b).

34. *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:165a). See note 30 in this chapter.

35. *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:387c). See note 30 in this chapter.

36. In later Buddhism, the demon who determined the time of an ordinary person's death was a specific being called Ssu-mo (死魔; *maraṇamāra*); *Yü-ch'ieh shih-ti-lun* [*Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra*], fasc. 29 (*T.* 30:447c–48b); Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3, no. 2 (1959): 112ff. Sakyamuni's

feelings at Vesālī and the temptation of Māra appear also in *Divyāv.*, VII, pp. 200–201. Western scholars have undertaken comparative studies with the Pāli text, though the *Divyāvadāna* is in fact much closer to the Sanskrit version (Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* [Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927]), p. 289.

37. "Developed": bhāvitā *ti vaḍḍhitā* (*Sn.*, p. 554). "Four psychic powers": *cattāro iddhipādā*; the bases for, or steps to, attaining the four unhindered powers, which are the supernatural, mysterious powers of a buddha, able to alter boundaries. Their attainment is one method by which a practitioner may achieve enlightenment. The four powers are: 1) the will: the desire to attain a high level of meditation ("will" [Rhys Davids]); 2) the endeavor: the endeavor to attain a high level of meditation ("effort" [Rhys Davids]); 3) the mind: controlling the mind to attain a high level of meditation ("thought" [Rhys Davids]); and 4) the thought and investigation: attaining a high level of meditation by practicing meditation and contemplation based on wisdom ("investigation" [Rhys Davids]). The Chinese compound used to translate *iddhipādā* is made up of two characters. The first, *shen*, refers to supernatural or supernormal power, and means "inscrutable spiritual power"; the second, *tsu*, means "base," that is, meditation (*dhyāna*). Thus *iddhipādā* are that which give rise to supernormal power ("The Four Paths to Iddhi" [Rhys Davids]). The "supernatural power" referred to here is not what the West calls a "miracle." Supernatural power should be considered one type of Law. (For a detailed treatment, see *Rhys Davids DN*, vol. 1, pp. 272–73.)

38. "Practice, like a [yoked] vehicle": yānīkatā *ti yutta-yānaṃ viya katā* (*Sv.*, p. 554).

39. "If he wished": *akaṅkhamāno*. According to the Burmese, Thai, and Nālandā editions, this is read as *ākaṅkhamāno*. "To the limits of his life span": *kappaṃ tiṭṭheya*. Usually *kappa* is said to be an extremely long period of time. However, I have followed Buddhaghosa's interpretation of "to the limits of his life span" (*āyu-kappa*): *ettha ca* kappan *ti āyukappaṃ / tasmiṃ tasmiṃ kāle yaṃ manussānaṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ āyuppamāṇaṃ hoti taṃ paripunnnaṃ karonto* (*Sv.*, p. 554). Later Buddhists, however, as in the Pure Land sutra I quote in note 40 in this chapter, regarded *kappa* as *kalpa*, in line with the Buddha's deification. Modern Western scholars follow their example ("for an aeon," *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 111; "eine Weltperiode lang," *Franke DN*, p. 205). They have forgotten about the existence of the word *āyu-kappa*.

40. "For an even longer period": tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā *ti: Appaṃ vā bhiyyo ti, vutta-vassasatato atirekaṃ vā* (*Sv.*, p. 554). In other words, Buddhaghosa thus interprets it as "A little longer than the life span, or more than a hundred years." "Ānanda, . . . period": The idea in this paragraph appears also in the later Pure Land sutras. For example, "If the Tathāgata wished, Ānanda, he could live for a whole *kalpa* on the gift of a single meal. . . ." (*Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, #2, ed. Wogihara, p. 10, *ll.* 10–14.) See page 108 in this volume.

41. "Beg": *na yāci. Yācati* is to ask fervently. It does not refer merely to wishing.

42. "This was because . . .": *yathā taṃ Mārena pariyuṭṭhita citto*. Here *taṃ* is an indeclinable particle (*nipāta; Sv.*, p. 555) with no particular meaning; *yathā* means "because." *Yathā taṃ* is a phrase used when introducing an explanation. *Pariyuṭṭhita* is pronounced *pariuṭṭhita;* South Asian copyists inserted *y* or *v* between two vowels to differentiate them clearly (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 111n; the same phenomenon is found in Bengali. "Māra": "he who kills." "Here Māra means to attempt to cause people to do harm and kill" (*ettha satte anatthe niyojento māreti ti Māro; Sv.*, p. 555).

43. "Skillfully accomplished them": *susamāvaddhā* (typographical error for *susamāraddhā*).

44. "If he wished": The original has *so akaṅkhamāno*, but in terms of meaning, and recognizing the evidence of the Burmese, Thai, and Nālandā versions, it should be amended to *ākaṅkhamāno*.

45. "You may leave as it suits you": The original has "if you think it a suitable time," "if you think it time to leave."

46. When the Buddha had attained enlightenment and was staying under the Goatherd's banyan (Ajapāla) tree, enjoying the pleasure of his enlightenment, Māra appeared and said the words in this section (see MPS, III, 34). "The Evil One": Pāpimant. "A modifier [*vevacana*] of Māra. Because he has an evil nature, he is called 'Evil One' [Pāpimant]. His names are also Kaṇha ["Black One"], Destroyer [Antaka], Namuci, Debauched Companion [Pamatta-bandhu]" (*Sv.*, p. 555). The name is usually transliterated into Chinese as Po-hsün (波旬), rather than translated.

47. "Now is the time when the Venerable Master should die": Here Māra appears to encourage the Buddha to enter *nibbāna*, and the Buddha complies, making his decision to do so. This episode is treated extensively in every recension. As I stated in the main text, no doubt this scene arose from the feelings of later Buddhists that a great man like the Buddha, possessed of supernatural powers, should live eternally and not die like an ordinary person. They had to find a reason for his death, and so came to the conclusion that the Buddha himself made the decision to enter *nibbāna*. The *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* took this up as a central theme.

48. "Disciples": *sāvaka*, meaning "hearer." This word (and the feminine form *sāvikā*) was applied to all the Buddha's ordained and lay followers, male and female, and originally meant "disciples." This is a point of similarity with early Jainism. In later Jainism, though, the form *sāvaga* (in Ardhamāgadhī, the language of the Jain canon) was applied only to lay followers, while in later Buddhism the Sanskrit form *śrāvaka* was applied only to ordained priests. I preserve the original meaning in the translation.

49. "Trained": *vinīta*, that is, their six sense organs are well regulated.

50. "Acting in accordance with the Dhamma": Buddhaghosa interprets this

expression as practicing contemplation or insight (*vipassanā*), which is the Dhamma, in accordance with the Dhamma (*dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā ti ariyassa dhammassa anudhamma-bhūtaṃ vipassanā-dhammaṃ paṭipannā; Sv.*, p. 556). The interpretation of "practicing the large and small dhammas" is also possible. "Masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 112); "den rechten Pfad in Übereinstimmung mit der Lehre wandeln" (*Franke DN*, p. 205).

51. "That which they know and have been taught by the Master": *sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā*. Buddhaghosa interprets this phrase to mean: "preserving the teachings of one's own master" (*attano ācariya-vādaṃ [uggahetvā]; Sv.*, p. 556). Rhys Davids translates the phrase freely. But in the text, I followed Franke's interpretation: "die, was sie gelehrt bekommen haben, so wie sie selbst es gelernt haben, mitteilen . . ." (*Franke DN*, pp. 205–6). Supporting this is the sentence *sake ācariyake tevijjake pañhaṃ puccheyya* (*DN*, IV, 10, vol. 1, p. 119). Since the indeclinable particle *ca* does not appear here, there was probably no thought of any contrast between "what they know" and "what has been taught by the Master." They are in mutual agreement.

52. "They can refute . . .": *uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā*. "Indem sie Widerspruch, der sich erhebt, mit der Macht der Wahrheit erfolgreich zum Schweigen bringen." *Suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā* is an idiom. (Cf. *Franke DN*, p. 206 n. 4).

53. "Without rebuttal": *sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti*. "To spread the wonder-working truth abroad." An opposite idea is *appaṭihīra-kataṃ bhāsitaṃ* (*DN*, vol. 1, pp. 193, 239). These two concepts are contrasted in the *Kathāvatthu*, 561 (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 112 n. 3). There is no need to introduce here the idea of "wonder-working." Franke translates the phrase as "die einwandfreie Lehre verkünden werden" (*Franke DN*, p. 206).

54. "*Bhikkhunīs*": transliterated into Chinese as *pi-ch'iu-ni* (比丘尼). Jainism has the same expression.

55. "Pure practice": *brahma-cariya;* a term used in pre-Buddhist Brahmanism for the training and practice of students, and later absorbed into Buddhism. In later times it was interpreted as "not licentious." Buddhaghosa interprets it as the threefold practice: the precepts, concentration, and wisdom (brahma-cariyan *ti sikkhā-ttaya-saṅgahitaṃ sakalaṃ sāsana-brahmacariyaṃ; Sv.*, p. 556). It is safe to say that it refers to Buddhist practice.

56. MPS, III, 3–9 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 103–6). "Be easy": *appossuko hohi*. The original meaning was "be of few desires, be uninterested" (= *nirālaya; Sv.*, p. 556). "Tathāgata": In Jainism, Buddhism, and the other religions of the time, a great person who had perfected his practice. (This is *tathāgaya* in Ardhamāgadhī. The form *tathāgata* appears in debates about methods of dealing with replies to questions. It must have been in common usage among the various religious sects.) The word means "one who has done thus" or "one who has performed fine deeds." Both Rhys Davids and Franke render Tathāgata as it is, while H. Oldenberg translates it as "der Vollendete." The Chinese translation uses *ju-lai* (如来), with its Mahāyāna connotation of "one who has come thus to save living beings." Without a doubt, however, the idea of Tathāgata as the self teaching the self, which is present in early Buddhism, existed also in Jainism and other sects. "Three months from now the Tathāgata will die": Here the Buddha hinted to Ānanda to beg him to remain long in the world, but because Ānanda was possessed by Māra he did not do so. Thus the Buddha of his own will decided to abandon his remaining term of life and announced to Māra that he would enter *nibbāna* in three months.

57. P. S. Jaini, "Buddha's Prolongation of Life," *BSOAS* 21, part 3 (1958): 546–52.

58. See the latter part of note 40 of this chapter.

59. MPS, III, 51 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 120–21G). This verse is not found in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Sarvāstivadin texts, or in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*. A brief version appears in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*. It is translated in virtually the same form in the *Yu-hsing-ching* (although the translator says simply in the first line, "I have little life left," a purely Chinese expression that shows the translator's effort to make the texts accessible to Chinese people). The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* treats the verse more fully. Even so, the verse cannot have been written later than the prose section, and the legend elaborated in the prose section is probably based on this simple verse. All the same, the verse itself is not very old: we cannot discern ancient elements in it, and the *bhikkhus* are referred to as *bhikkhavo*, not *bhikkhave*. This shows that the verse dates from a time after Māgadhī language characteristics were influential in the Saṅgha. The prose section is that much later. (For an interpretation of the verse, see my *Budda saigo no tabi*, pp. 251–52.)

60. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* has "under the tree of the deity of Vaiśālī"; "tree of the deity" is undoubtedly the original meaning of *cetiya*.

61. "Ape and Monkey Pavilion": Yüan-hou-kuan (猨猴館).

62. Māra's words also occur in *SN*, vol. 5, p. 262, and in *AN*, vol. 4, pp. 310–11.

63. "The factors of life": *āyu-saṃkhāra;* they are the basis of life. This expression also appears in *MN*, vol. 1, pp. 295, 296; *SN*, vol. 2, p. 266; and *Jātaka*, vol. 4, p. 215. Because the Buddha has already attained nirvana, he will not be reborn after death. Since, however, the latent power of past karma remains, it becomes a factor preserving life in this world, and so the Buddha stays alive. Indian philosophy in general calls this latent power *saṃskāra* (Skt.; Pāli, *saṃkhāra;* for example, *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, §39, pp. 136–37), showing a similar viewpoint. Here, though, the Buddha abandons his latent life power (potentiality). This can be seen as a first step in the later deification of the Buddha and the Mahāyāna idea of the Buddha body.

64. "Words of exultation": The following verse is obscure and possibly corrupt, according to Rhys Davids (he refers to Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, pp. 37, 72; *Ud.*, VI, 1; *SN*, vol. 5, p. 263; and *Divyāv.*, p. 203). Though the Pāli is strange,

it may transmit comparatively faithfully an expression belonging to a language of eastern India centered on Magadha.

65. MPS, III, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 106–7). "Factors of becoming": *bhavasaṅkhāra* (= *punabbhava-saṅkhāraṇaka*, the basic factors leading to rebirth in the world of delusion). "Immeasurable or not": *tulam atulañ ca*. Buddhaghosa gives several different interpretations of this expression. It is clear that even by his time the original meaning had been lost. One interpretation is that *tulam* means "limited" (*paricchinna*); another opinion maintains that it is the present participle *tulento*. Buddhaghosa also expains it as "atulañ ca sambhavan *ti nibbānañ c'eva bhavañ ca*" (*Sv.*, p. 557), but this agrees largely with the translation in the *Yu-hsing-ching*: *yu-wei erh-hsing* (*saṃskṛta*, "conditioned," and *asaṃskṛta*, "unconditioned"). "The root of the body's formation": *saṃbhava* (= *saṃbhavassa hetubhūtaṃ piṇḍakārakaṃ rāsi-kārakaṃ*; *Sv.*, p. 557). "Shell-like": *kavacam iva*. This expression is usually interpreted to mean "like armor." Since the *Yu-hsing-ching* says, "Devotion within to *samādhi* is like a bird leaving its shell," *kavaca* may be thought to mean *aṇḍakosa* ("shell"). An enlightened person breaks through the bonds of ignorance like a newborn bird breaking through its shell. "Base of the self's becoming": *attasaṃbhava* = *attani sañjātaṃ kilesaṃ*. The delusions that arise concerning the self (*Sv.*, p. 557). Cf. *abhindi kavacam ivattasaṃbhavaṃ* (*Ud.*, p. 64). *Attasaṃbhava* is an unusual word, but should be considered in relation to *ajjhattasaṃbhavo* (*Therag.*, 1126) and *attasamuṭṭhāna* (*Therag.*, 767). (Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Klaus Ludwig Janert [Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967], p. 940.)

66. MPS, III, 11–12 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 107).

67. The eight causes of earthquakes as the Buddha preached them appear in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*; three reasons are given in the *Ti-tung-ching* in the *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 1:477 et seq.). The latter exhibits older forms than the former (E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* [Rome: IsMEO, 1956], pp. 156–59).

68. "This great earth rests on water, the water on wind, the wind on space": The Buddhist idea that Jambudvīpa (the earth) rests on successive layers of water, wind, and space can also be found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, p. 212; the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih* (*T.* 24:388a); the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Unrai Wogihara, ed., *Sphuṭarthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā: The Work of Yaśomitra* [Tokyo: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, 1932–36]), p. 15, *l.* 22; *Tarkajvālā ad* VIII, 65 (see my *Shoki no bedānta tetsugaku* [Vedānta philosophy of the early period; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1950], pp. 294 et seq.; 329 et seq.); and Śaṅkara *ad Brahmasūtra*, II, 2, 24.

69. "Ānanda": The Pali Text Society text has Ānando, but this should be corrected to Ānanda, according to the Nālandā text (*SKP*, §28, n. 6, p. 37).

70. "Therefore": *so*. When a demonstrative pronoun appears at the beginning of a sentence, it may be understood to explain a reason.

71. "An ascetic [*samaṇa*]": The term refers to non-Brahmin ascetics and philosophers who do not acknowledge the Vedic texts. The Buddha's followers were also referred to using this term.

72. "Brahmin": *brāhmaṇa*; a ritualist who performed rites according to the Vedic texts; the highest of the Indian castes.

73. "*Devas*": *devatā*. This is an expression impossible to translate into English, but if I venture to do so, it would be a fairy, god, genius, or angel (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 115 n. 1). These are not necessarily heavenly beings, since they may dwell in trees, rivers, or houses, or in the earth. The earth-dwelling *devas* were mentioned previously in this sutra (I, 26). Some Japanese scholars translate the term as *shen-ke* (神格).

74. "Tusita heaven": a delightful realm in the heavens. According to later Buddhist cosmology, it was located in the realm of desire, between the Yāma heaven and the Nirmāṇarati heaven.

75. "Quakes": the *Nidānakathā* relates how the earth shook when Sakyamuni entered his mother's womb.

76. "The *nibbāna* where the residue of the defilements no longer exists": *anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā*. This is the locative case. The old stratum of Chinese translation called this "the nirvana in the realm of nirvana without residue." The word *upādi* means "the basis of our existence."

77. MPS, III, 13–20 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 107–9).

78. Earthquakes as miraculous events often herald the acts of a religious leader (for example, in the Gospel of Matthew, 27:54, 28:1–8).

79. "Eight kinds of assemblies": *pa-chung* (八衆). "Eight stages of mastery of the senses": *pa-sheng-ch'u* (八勝処).

80. "Assemblies": *parisā* (Skt., *pariṣad*). From ancient times to the present, this word has been used to mean "society." It can also be translated as "group" or "companions."

81. "The assembly of the host in the realm of the four heavenly kings": Cātummahārājika-parisā. Four heavenly kings occupy the four sides of Mount Sumeru, protecting each of the four directions. The kings are Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa. "The assembly of Brahmās": Brāhma-parisā. In the popular Brahmanism of the Buddha's time, Brahmā was considered the creator of the universe. Over time three deities became associated with Brahmā and the Brahma heaven: Brahmakāyika, Brahmapurohita, and Mahābrahmāṇ. Later Buddhist cosmology placed these deities in the first Dhyāna heaven of the realm of form. Here, though, such a complication is not intended.

82. "I well remember": *abhijānāmi*. The *Yu-hsing-ching* has "I recall." "Many hundreds": Windisch (*Māra und Buddha*, p. 75), says that this number refers to the number of entrances, and quotes the *Itivuttaka*, p. 15, in support (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 117n).

83. "My [skin] color . . . like their voices": This may refer to later Buddhism's idea that the Buddha speaks his discourses in one voice, bringing all to emancipation according to their individual needs.

84. "Disappeared": *antaradhāyāmi*. This is the present tense; in Pāli, the present tense can refer to the recent past or the near future.

85. MPS, III, 21–23 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 109–10).

86. This section is taken from my *Yugyō-kyō*, in *Butten kōza* (Lectures on Buddhist scriptures), vol. 1 (Kyoto: Daizō Shuppan, 1984), p. 342 et seq. "Perfumed Tower": MPS, III, 49 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 119). According to R. C. Childers in *A Dictionary of the Pali Language* (London: Trübner and Co., 1875) and Rhys Davids and William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1986), *kūṭāgāra* means a building with a peaked roof, a house with a pointed tower, or a gabled house. If the upper story was an attic, the Chinese translation "storied tower" (重閣) would be quite apt. There is no apparent reason why the *Yu-hsing-ching* translates it as *hsiang-ta* (香塔; "perfumed tower"). Perhaps the translator interpreted the word as *kuṭṭha* (a kind of fragrant plant) + *āgāra*.

87. "Multistoried tower": *chung-ke chiang-t'ang* (重閣講堂).

88. "Stop grieving" in the *Yu-hsing-ching*. *Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha. na nu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbeh' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā bhāvo vinābhāvo aññathā-bhavo? taṃ kut' ettha āvuso labbhā? yan taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṃkhataṃ paloka-dhammaṃ, taṃ vata mā palujjīti n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjati* (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 158).

89. Whether the *Udāna* (VI, 1) or the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (pp. 23–26) is the original is difficult to say. It is quite feasible that memories about the Buddha's last journey were made into tales, and when the extant sutras were finally compiled, both of these versions were amended and standardized.

90. *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, §2, ed. Wogihara, p. 10, *ll.* 10–14.

91. "Elephant's gaze": *nāgāpalokitaṃ*. This expression does not appear in the *Yu-hsing-ching* or the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*. *Waldschmidt Skt.* (XX, 4, p. 226) and *Divyāv.* (p. 208) have *nāgāvalokitenāvalokayati*, "the way people's bones are brought together." "However, the various bones of the Buddha were linked strongly like a chain. For this reason, when [the Buddha] looked behind him, he was not able to turn his head. He himself has to turn his whole body like an elephant when it looks behind" (*Sv.*, p. 564). The *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 36 (*T.* 24:388c), translates this as "Like a great elephant king, he turned his whole body to the right to look upon Vaiśālī." This translation agrees with the Pāli commentary.

92. Virtually the same paragraph appears in II, 2 of this sutra.

93. "Did not . . . penetrate": *appaṭivedhā*.

94. "Thus the Venerable Master . . . the Master, said": These words follow a set pattern for introducing verse. It can be paradoxical to modern people that these words were uttered by the historical Buddha. The compiler of the sutra, who was already in the process of making the Buddha superhuman, probably felt no paradox. The same verse that follows in the text appears in *AN* (IV, vol. 2, pp. 1–2; VII, no. 62, vol. 4, pp. 100–106), where it also has been rewritten in prose form with an explanation. The text in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* (IV, 2–4) is based on this verse. (Concerning this prose section based on verse, see Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* [Studies in Indian philosophy], vol. 3 [Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965], pp. 362–65.) The expression "broken all the fetters" should be taken at face value and not interpreted to mean biological death. However, even early Buddhism eventually came to interpret it this way. Perhaps that is why this sutra was titled the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. It was then that the verse was inserted into the sutra, and explained in prose.

95. "Broken all the fetters": *parinibbuta*. Some scholars (for example, Childers) interpret this as "extinguished, extinct, dead." This, however, is a mistake. The same expression appears in the early scriptures (Nikāyas) in the context of a living person's being set free (from evil) and being at peace. One instance (*MN*, vol. 1, p. 446) uses the expression about a living horse! Passages that support my view are *MN*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 235, 251; vol. 2, p. 102; *Therag.*, 5, 7, 8, 9, etc.; *Sn.*, 359, 758; *SN*, vol. 3, pp. 26, 54; *Itiv.*, 52, 56; *Dhp.*, 89. Similar expressions appear in later writings: *Milindapañha*, p. 50; *Jātaka*, vol. 4, pp. 303, 453 (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 132n). This interpretation is justified. The word *parinibbuta* appears in Jain texts as *pariṇivvua* or *pariṇivvuḍa*, "one free from all pain," "emancipated" (Ratnacandraji, *An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, vol. 3 [Ajmer: Babu Durga Prasad, 1923], p. 501). Both the Jain and Pāli forms can be turned into Sanskrit as *parinirvṛta*. This word has no etymological connection with *nirvāṇa* or *parinirvāṇa*. It means "released from fetters, delusions, and suffering." But because it eventually acquired the same meaning as *parinirvāṇa*, Chinese translations often render *parinibbuta* and *parinirvṛta* as *pan-nieh-p'an* (般涅槃; *parinirvāṇa*). Some scholars translate it as "attained nirvana," but this is a paraphrase rather than a direct translation.

96. MPS, IV, 1–4 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23).

97. "Four *dhyānas*": 四禅 (*Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:17b]).

98. "Four *dhyāna* practices": 四禅行 (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:181b]).

99. "Thirty-seven practices conducive to enlightenment": 三十七道品 (*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* [*T.* 1:193a]).

100. The complete Japanese translation can be found in Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 1, p. 357.

101. The first-century relief was unearthed at Amarāvatī. Archaeological Museum, Amarāvatī (*Budda no sekai*, p. 193, pl. 2-158).

102. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 227.

103. For a photograph of the site, see *Budda no sekai*, p. 193, pl. 2-156.

104. *Pa-ta-ling-t'a ming-hao-ching* (*T.* 32:773a–b); *Budda no sekai*, p. 464.

105. *Saizō Daizōkyō Sōmokuroku* (Catalog to the Tibetan Tripiṭaka) in the collection of Tohoku University, no. 1133; *Budda no sekai*, pp. 464–65.

106. "The four great instructions": *mahāpadesa*. The four great instructions given here (cf. IV, 8–9) appear also in the Sanskrit text, but the word does not appear as a technical term. Rhys Davids translates it as "Great Authorities" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 133), and he says that perhaps it should be rendered as "true authorities." Franke follows suit: "reden von den vier hohen Autoritäten" (*Franke DN*, p. 220). Buddhaghosa interprets it as *mahā-apadesa: mahāpadesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitvā vuttāni mahākaraṇāni ti attho* ("the causes [authorities] alleged when referring to the Buddha and other great men" [*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 565]). Rhys Davids says that the scholar Samarasekara interpreted the expression as *mahā-padesa* (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 133 n. 1). Buddhaghosa, replying to a question, also gives an interpretation: *Sutte cattāro mahāpadesā, Khandhake cattāro mahāpadesā cattāri pañha-vyākaraṇāni: suttaṃ suttānulomaṃ ācariya-vādo attano; tisso saṅgītiyo ti* (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 567). The *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:17c) uses a compound meaning literally "four great teachings" (四大教法), while the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 1:195c), translates it as the "doctrine of the four determinants" (四決定說).

107. "Replied": *patisuṇāti*. It means to reply in agreement. The root *śru* seems originally to have meant "to sound" before it meant "to hear." In Early English, *answer* was *andswerian; swerian* is not unconnected with the Sanskrit root *svar* ("to sound"). Here, *patisuṇāti* does not mean simply "to consent," but rather, "to answer (assentingly)" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 133 n. 2).

108. "*Vinaya*": Usually translated as *lü* (律). "Teaching": *dhamma*. Here it does not mean *sutta*.

109. "Words and phrases": *padavyañjanāni*. Buddhaghosa interprets this as a syllable forming a word (*pada-saṅkhātāni vyañjanāni*). He thus believed that each letter must be confirmed as corresponding to the sacred writings. "Compare them with the suttas and review and scrutinize them in the light of the *Vinaya*": *sutte otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni*. If a collection (*piṭaka*) of the sacred writings, like the ones we have today, had been established at the time when the passage was first written, the word *piṭaka* would have been used, not *sutta* and *vinaya*. The fact that the word was not in use proves that when this sutra was composed, the texts had not yet been grouped according to *nikāya* or *piṭaka* (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 134n). Buddhaghosa, however, interprets *sutta* as the individual clauses of the *Vinaya* (the individual *pātimokkha*) and *vinaya* as the chapters within the *Vinaya*: *Ettha ca* Suttan *ti Vinayo, yath'āha: 'Kattha paṭikkhittaṃ? Sāvatthiyaṃ Sutta-vibhaṅge ti'* Vinayo, *ti Khandhako, yath'āha: 'Kosambiyā Vinayātisāre' ti* (*Sv.*, p. 565). Whatever the case, though, it is clear that *Vinaya* is meant. Since Buddhist sutras teach meditation by visualization of various objects, they need not necessarily be consulted in the course of everyday life. However, a practitioner should consult each regulation about the practice of the *Vinaya*, and then put it into practice with great care. From this point of view, Buddhaghosa's interpretation achieves the original intention of the words.

110. "This is the conclusion that must be reached": *niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ*. In translating the text, I followed the interpretation of the doctrine of the four determinants as taught in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:195c).

111. MPS, IV, 5–8 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 123–24).

112. "Community of [*bhikkhus*]": *saṅgha*. Franke translates this both as "eine (Bhikkhu-) Schar" and as "Gemeinde" (*DN*, p. 221). Rhys Davids translates it as "a company of the brethren" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 134).

113. "Versed in the gist of the teachings [*mātikā*]": *mātikā-dhara*. In general, *mātikā* means "principal items" or "essential points" (*uddāna*). The *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:17c) translates "one who preserved the *mātikā*" as *ch'ih-lü-i-che* (持律儀者; "keeper of the *Vinaya*"), perhaps understanding *mātikā* to be *pāṭimokkha* ("items of the *Vinaya*"). However, the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:195c) translates this as *fa-hsiang* (法相; "Dhamma aspect"), so probably the translator thought of *mātikā* as something germinal of the Abhidhamma scholarship. The interpretation of *mātikā* as *pāṭimokkha* is doubtless of a very early date.

114. MPS, IV, 9–12 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 124–26).

115. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:17c). Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, p. 18.

116. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:182a–b).

117. "Pāvā": modern Padrauna (?). The location of Pāvā (in Pāli) is unknown. Thirty or forty minutes by car from Kuśīnagar are the ruins of the ancient Pāpā (Skt.). There is a Jain temple there; guides tell visitors that a small nearby hill is the site of Cunda's mango grove. This cannot be verified, for no inscriptions have been found to confirm the hypothesis. Village legends should be scrutinized, in particular those associated with the Jain temple, but at the moment we cannot confirm that this was the site of Cunda's grove.

118. Here the Pāli text has the phrase *mahatā bhikkhusaṃghena*. Since this phrase is missing in the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin versions, it was undoubtedly added at a later time to glorify the Buddha.

119. "Mango grove": The Sanskrit version has "in Jalūkā's wood" (*jalūkā-vanaṣaṇḍe*). The Tibetan and Sarvāstivādin texts agree. "Cunda": The Pāli text describes him as *kammāraputta* and the Sanskrit as *karmāraputra*. The *Yu-hsing-ching*, however, calls him "son of an artisan" (*T.* 1:18a), while the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:167c) does not record his occupation at all, stating that Cunda's father was of the Mallas. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:183a) says that Cunda was a son of the Mallas. Fa-hsien's translation (T. 1:197a) says that Cunda was the son of a craftsman. The Sarvāstivādin version (*T.* 24:390b) says that Cunda was the son of a blacksmith. The Tibetan has *mgar-baḥibu*. The Pāli *kammāra* is usually translated "blacksmith," but in fact does not distinguish the type of metalwork. It might actually be better translated as "metalsmith." "Blacksmith": *kammāra;* "the worker in metals" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 137).

120. *DN*, no. 33, *Saṅgīti-suttanta*, 1 (vol. 3, p. 207). *Chung-chi-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 8 (*T.* 1:49b).

121. The legend of Cunda's offering: MPS, IV, 13–24 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 126–29); T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Suttas*, vol. 11 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1881; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), pp. 70–73; *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 1:18a–c). See also Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 1, pp. 405–44.

122. "A lecture on the Dhamma": See the section "The four types of ascetic" on pp. 117–20 for a discussion of the type of discourse given to Cunda.

123. "Passed by him on the right": *padakkhiṇaṃ katvā*. This expression means that the person greeted the Buddha and circled him three times clockwise. It is usually expressed literally in Chinese as *yu-jao san-tsa* (右繞 [遶] 三匝).

124. MPS, IV, 13–16 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 126–27).

125. The Sanskrit original has *aśrauṣuḥ Pāpīyakā Māllāḥ*. . . .

126. "Dish of mushrooms": *sūkara-maddava*. See the section "Food Poisoning" on pp. 120–24.

127. MPS, IV, 17–19 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 127).

128. These verses do not appear in the present text of the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta;* they are, however, included as verses in the equivalent Sanskrit and Tibetan versions (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 258–59), the Sarvāstivādin version (*T.* 24:390b–c), and the *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:18b–c), and are rewritten in prose in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:167c–68c), the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:183), and the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:195c–96a). The simple verse summary we have appears in expanded prose form in the *Pāsādika-suttanta* (*DN*, no. 29 [vol. 3, pp. 117–41]).

129. In the *Yu-hsing-ching*, an old *bhikkhu* asks the question, but in the Sanskrit text, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, and the Sarvāstivādin version, Cunda is the questioner. "Craving": *taṇhā*. Dividing it into three types was standard in the commentarial literature (vītataṇhan *ti vigata-kāma-bhava-vibhava-taṇhaṃ* [*Pj.*, p. 160 *ad Sn.*, 83]). "Supreme among human beings": dipaduttaman *ti dipadānaṃ uttamaṃ* (*Pj.*, p. 160). The greatest human being of all.

130. "Ascetic": In subsequent verses the words *samaṇa* and *bhikkhu* are used interchangeably. Both can be translated as "ascetic."

131. "Being asked to my face": *sakkhi putto* (= *sammukhā pucchito; Pj.*, p. 162). "He who is victorious in the Way": *maggajino ti maggena sabbakilese vijitāvī ti attho* (*Pj.*, p. 162). The original Pāli for "one who is victorious" is *jina;* southern Buddhists believe that this term signifies that the Buddha had overcome the defilements. There is a strong possibility that *khetta-jina* (*Sn.*, 523–24) is a Prākrit form of *kṣetrajña*, which suggests that the *maggajina* here might be a Prākrit form of *mārgajña*. "He who teaches the Way": According to the commentary, this expression means a person who teaches the Way for the sake of others (maggadesako *ti paresaṃ maggaṃ desetā*). "He who lives according to the Way": Buddhaghosa offers two interpretations of this phrase: "Because those of the seven groups have still something to learn and cannot as yet abide perfectly in the Way, ordinary people who keep the precepts of the supramundane world still live within the way of the mundane world. Alternatively, ordinary people who keep the precepts live for the sake of [or seeking] the Way of the supramundane world. In this sense the phrase refers to 'he who lives according to the Way' (*magge jīvatī ti sattasu sekhesu yo koci sekho apariyositamaggavāsattā lokottare sīlavantaputhujjano ca lokiye magge jīvati nāma, sīlavanta-puthujjano vā lokuttaramagganimittaṃ jīvanato pi magge jīvatī ti veditabbo; Pj.*, p. 162). The expression "he who lives through the Way" (*[yo] mārge jīvati*) appears in *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XXVI, 23, p. 260. It is not clear what type of person he is. Since many versions translate it as *i-tao sheng-huo* (衣道生活; *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:167c]; *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:183c]; *Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:18b]), it appears to mean "one who makes being a person of religion 'a ways of living.'" (The phrase does not appear in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*.) At any rate, the Theravādins understood it to mean one who has not yet completed his training. In other words, though such a person is inferior to the one "victorious in the Way," he is superior to one who defiles the Way. "He who defiles the Way": a person with bad habits, who holds evil views, and who acts contrary to the Way (yo ca maggadūsī *ti yo ca dussīlo micchādiṭṭhi maggapaṭilomāya paṭipattiyā maggassa dūsako ti attho; Pj.*, p. 162).

132. "One who is victorious in the Way": This phrase refers to a *buddhasamaṇa* (*Pj.*, p. 163). To put it another way, the Buddha is no more than one type of ascetic of the many in the world. "Student of the Way": *maggajjhāyī*. This expression can be understood as the Sanskrit *mārgadhyāyin*. However, it is also possible to interpret it as the Sanskrit *mārga-adhyāyin*. The latter corresponds well to the *maggadesaka* of the preceding verse. Fausböll uses the original terms and does not translate them.

Of note here is that we have the "Awakened Ones" (*buddhā*) in the plural. The plural expression is also employed in the next section (86). This means that what is being taught here is not original to Sakyamuni. He is not saying, "It is I who am teaching!" for he was not so proud. Sakyamuni is only repeating what the "buddhas" (including sages of Jainism and the other contemporary religious sects) have already taught. He was not aware that he was teaching something called "Buddhism."

133. "Does not cling to greed": anānugiddho *ti kañci dhammaṃ taṇhāgedhena ananugijjhanto* (*Pj.*, p. 163). "Such a person": *tādin;* one who has already perfected his practice and is a model for others.

134. "Undisturbed by thoughts": *ejā-saṃkhātāya taṇhāya abhāvato anejam* . . . (*Pj.*, p. 164).

135. "Words in accordance with the Dhamma": *dhammapada* (= *nibbāna-dhammassa pada; Pj.*, p. 164).

136. "Pretends to maintain the vows well": Similar expressions are found in *Jātaka*, vol. 2, p. 281.

137. "An excellent lay believer": *ariyānaṃ santike sutattā* ariyasāvako (*Pj.*, p. 166); according to the commentary, the disciple of a sage. However, in the Buddhist texts, when *ariya* appears at the beginning of a compound word, it

tends to be an adjective, and it is interpreted that way here. "Hearing [the characteristics of these people]": *imesaṃ catunnaṃ samaṇānaṃ lakkhaṇa-savanamattena* sutavā (*Pj.*, p. 166). "Understanding them clearly": *te yeva samaṇe 'ayañ cāyañ ca evaṃlakkhaṇo' ti pajānana-mattena* sapañño (*Pj.*, p. 166).

138. "The faith . . . does not disappear": *na hāpeti* (= *na hāyati, na nassati; Pj.*, p. 166); "faith" = *saddhā.*

139. *Sn.*, 83–90.

140. "Bloody diarrhea": *lohita-pakkhandika.*

141. The original text has "the Elder Ānanda." The word "elder" would have been a later editor's addition; at this time Ānanda would still have been young. In India young men are also referred to by the epithet *āyuṣmat,* meaning one who still has much life, or one whose life-force remains strong.

142. MPS, IV, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 127–28).

143. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 128.

144. Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *The Questions of King Milinda,* part 1, vol. 30 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1890; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 244n; *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 137.

145. The Sinhalese translation of *DN* (London and Columbo, 1950), p. 766.

146. *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 137.

147. Sūkaramaddavan *ti nātitaruṇassa nātijiṇṇassa ekajeṭṭhakasūkarassa pavatamaṃsaṃ taṃ kira muduñ c'eva suniddhañ ca hoti. taṃ paṭiyādāpetvā sādhukaṃ pacāpetvā ti attho. tattha pana dvisahassa-dīpaparivāresu catūsu mahādīpesu devatā ojaṃ pakkhipiṃsu* (*Sv.*, p. 598).

148. *Eke bhaṇanto:* sūkaramaddavan *ti pana mudu-odanassa pañcagorasa-yūsa-pācanavidhānassa nā-m'etaṃ yathā gavapānaṃ nāma pākanāmaṃ. keci bhaṇanti:* sūkaramaddavaṃ *nāma rasāyanavidhi taṃ pana rasāyanasatthe āgacchati. taṃ cundena bhagavato parinibbānaṃ na bhaveyyā ti rasāyanaṃ paṭiyattan ti* (*Sv.*, p. 568n.).

149. Hakuju Ui interprets it as "a kind of food" (*Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 366). Waldschmidt understands it to mean "medicinal herb" (*Waldschmidt Skt.*). The above explanations in the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* (Great Commentary) are quoted in *Ud.*, p. 81 n. 1.

150. Sūkaramaddavan *ti sūkarassa mudusiniddhaṃ pavattamaṃsan ti Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttaṃ. keci pana* sūkara-maddaavan *ti na sūkaramaṃsaṃ sūkarehi madditavaṃsakalīro ti vadanti. aññe sūkarehi madditapadese jātaṃ ahicchattakan ti. apare pana* sūkaramaddavaṃ *nāma taṃ ekarasāyatanan ti gaṇhiṃsu. taṃ hi cundo kammāraputto ajja bhagavā parinibbāyissatīti sutvā app'eva nāma paribhuñjitvā cirataraṃ tiṭṭheyyā ti satthucirajīvitukamyatāya adāsi ti vadanti* (Dhammapāla, ed., *Udānaṭṭhakathā Paramattha-dīpanī* [London: Oxford University Press for PTS, 1926], pp. 399–40).

151. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 1:18c).

152. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:168c) says only "food" with no explanation of what kind it was. It remarks, however, that a *bhikṣu* by the name of Chan-t'an (栴檀) was present. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:183a–b) is also unclear. The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* has only expressions like "many types of fine food" and "offerings of food" (*T.* 1:197a–b). Likewise, the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih,* fasc. 37 (*T.* 24:390b), has "various kinds of excellent and fragrant foods."

153. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 256–57.

154. *Franke DN*, p. 222. Arthur Waley, "Did Buddha Die of Eating Pork?" *MCB* 1 (1932): 343–54.

155. Waldschmidt, *Von Ceylon bis Turfan. Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 76–77. A. Foucher says that if the original term had been *sūkara-maddana*, there would be no doubt that it meant "pieces of pork"; *sūkara-maddava*, however, is open to a variety of interpretations (*La vie du Bouddha d'apres les Textes et les Monuments de l'Inde* [Paris: Payot, 1949], pp. 306–7). The PTS versions all give *sūkara-maddava.*

156. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 3, p. 366 et seq.

157. *Rhys Davids DN*, IV, 17, p. 137.

158. Shōkō Watanabe, *Nehan e no michi—Buddha no nyūmetsu* (The way to nirvana: The Buddha's death), vol. 2 of *Watanabe Shōkō chosaku shū* (The collected works of Shōkō Watanabe; Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1982), pp. 120–21.

159. The German translation of *MN* (1896), p. xx.

160. R. Gordon Wasson, *SOMA, Divine Mushroom of Immortality*, no. 1 of Ethno-mycological Studies (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), pp. 64–66. Critical reaction to his theory appears in Huston Smith, "Wasson's *Soma:* A Review Article," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40, no. 4 (Dec. 1972): 480–99. For a detailed introduction to the issue, see Hajime Nakamura, *Vedā no shisō* (Vedic thought), vol. 8 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1989), pp. 209–24.

161. The question is also discussed in Rhys Davids, trans., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part 2, vol. 3 of The Sacred Books of the Buddhists (London: The Pali Text Society, 1910), p. 137n; D. Andersen, *A Pāli Reader* (Copenhagen: Nordisk, 1917), p. 201, s.v. *maddava;* Fa Chow, "Sūkara-Maddava and the Buddha's Death," *ABORI* 23 (Silver Jubilee Volume, 1942): 127–33; and André Bareau, "Nourriture du dernier repas du Buddha," *Mélanges d'Indianisme: À la mémoire de Louis Renou*, ed. Hans Peter Schmidt (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1968), pp. 61–71. I was unable, however, to consult them.

162. Stella Kramrisch, "The Mahāvīra Vessel and the Plant Pūtika," *JAOS* 95, no. 2 (April–June 1975): 222–35.

163. Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968), p. 321; vol. 3, p. 760.

164. Gordon Wasson, "The Last Meal of the Buddha," *JAOS* 102, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1982): 591–603.

165. A detailed botanical examination appears in Masaki Yamamoto, "Shaka wa kinoko o tabete shinda ka" (Did Śākyamuni die from eating mushrooms?), in *Aru tabiji* (A certain journey; Kyoto: Yoshioka Shoten Shuppan Jigyōbu, 1985), p.

364 et seq., p. 112 et seq. The Chinese translation *chan-t'an-erh* (栴檀耳) refers to the sandalwood tree; more than ten varieties of mushroom are known to grow on this tree. None appears to be poisonous. However, the Japanese sandalwood and the Indian sandalwood are different; poisonous varieties of mushrooms may grow at altitudes higher than one thousand meters (p. 112). No final agreement has been reached about this botanical question. The Chinese scholar Tsang Mu mentions a number of poisonous varieties and says that many are easily confused with edible mushrooms; he suggests that the Buddha would not have been aware that he was eating a poisonous mushroom. Masaki Yamamoto walked the route of the Buddha's last journey in March 1959 searching for mushrooms, but had little success owing to the fact that it was the dry season (see his "Kodai Indo ni okeru shokubutsu byōgai to kinrui ni tsuite" [On plant diseases and fungi in ancient India], *Nihon Shokubutsu Byōri Gakkaihō* 51, no. 3 [1985]: 249–51).

166. MPS, IV, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 128). This verse does not appear in the *Suttanipāta*, but is found also in the story of Cunda in *Ud.* (VIII, 5, p. 82).

167. "After eating the meal of Cunda the blacksmith": "Sakyamuni was severely ill after eating a meal, but his illness was not caused by the meal" (*Sv.*, vol. 12, p. 568). The Sanskrit version and the Tibetan and Chinese translations contain information about Cunda's offering not found in the Pāli version. In the Sanskrit version, Cunda took fine and clean food from a copper platter and offered it to Śākyamuni, but an evil *bhikṣu* stole the platter and hid it under his arm. This story is undoubtedly based on ancient lore and may be considered historical fact. The food Cunda prepared was in all likelihood very splendid (Waldschmidt, *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, pp. 63–76). The Pāli tradition should not be considered the definitive one.

168. "Suffering from diarrhea": *viriccamāno.* Buddhaghosa interprets this as "while still voiding bloody stools" (viriccamāno *ti, abhiṇha-pavatta-lohita-virecano va samāno; Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 568). The Buddha was undoubtedly suffering from something like dysentery. "The Venerable Master said": "In order to die at the place [Kusinārā] he wished, [the Master] said this" (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 568). "Now will I go to the town of Kusinārā:" the final *i* of *gacchāmi* is omitted before *ahaṃ* (W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* [Strasbourg: Trübner, 1916], §70, 1, b. p. 75).

169. *Imā pana dhamma-saṅgāhaka-therehi ṭhapitā gāthā ti veditabbā* (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 568).

170. For research into this verse, see Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 3, pp. 365–67.

171. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 137.

172. *Nadīṃ Hiraṇyavatīm adhvapratipanno* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 264).

173. "Outer robe": *saṃghāṭi.* Usually translated as "great robe" or "upper robe," it is wrapped around the body. ("Upper" does not mean that it was worn on the upper half of the body).

174. MPS, IV, 21–22 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 128).

175. "Sage" (*vipra*): "the sage" (Arthur Anthony Macdonnell, *A Vedic Reader for Students* [London: Clarendon Press, 1917], p. 27); "der Redekundigen" (Karl Friedrich Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. 1 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951], p. 110).

176. "Easy to approach": *supatittha* (= *sundara-tittha*, "an excellent crossing place"; *Sv.* p. 569); "ist leicht zugänglich" (*Franke DN*, p. 225); "easy to get down into" (*Rhys Davids DN*, pp. 139–40).

177. "Cool his body": *Bhagavā . . . ca gattāni sītaṃ karissati.* Here, *sītam* cannot be predicative. As *sītaṃ karoti* its function is denominative (*SKP*, §59, p. 73). "Let . . . ": *karissanti.* This is the future tense, used here as an indirect imperative, as befits the words of a disciple to his master.

178. "Flowed": *sandittha.* The aorist of *sandati*, showing that the "flowing" happened recently (J. S. Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax* [Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1886], §334, p. 252). This usage was continued in Pāli (Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, §158, p. 128).

179. "One who has perfected his practice": *tathāgata.* It is unusual to find the Buddha being addressed with this epithet. In the sutras followers usually call the Buddha *bhante* ("lord" or "sir"), a term also used by young monks in the Order to their elders. When the Buddha is referred to, *Bhagavā* ["the Exalted One"] is used. Non-Buddhists addressed him as *bho Gotama* and referred to him as *Samaṇa Gotama* (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 140n). In the Buddha's time, ascetics from all sects who had perfected their practice, or who were striving to do so, were called *tathāgata*, implying that they were believed to possess mystical incantatory power. In this sense it is not strange that Gotama Buddha should be called by this epithet.

180. MPS, IV, 22–25 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 128–29).

181. According to the Pāli version.

182. According to the Sanskrit version, the Tibetan translation, and the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, he was a chief minister of the Mallas.

183. "Pukkusa": Skt., Putkasa (personal name). There was at that time a tribe or class of serfs called Pukkusa. (Cf. *MN*, vol. 2, p. 152; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 85; *Puggala-paññatti*, IV, 19; *Jātaka*, vol. 4, pp. 205, 306; *Lalita-vistara*, XXI, 17.) However, Buddhaghosa says that Pukkusa is the personal name of the man who appears in this episode (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 569). He says also that Pukkusa was engaged in trade (*vāṇijja*), leading a caravan (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 569). The Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese (*P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*) versions say that he had been chief minister (*mahāmātra*) of the Mallas. He had been drawn to Sakyamuni when he saw Sakyamuni sitting under a tree. "A Malla": Mallaputta. According to Buddhaghosa, Mallaputta means "a prince of the Mallas" (Mallarāja-putta). This commentator then gives a very important description of the political system of the Mallas: "It is said that

the Mallas take it in turns to be king and to rule [*Mallā kira vārena rajjaṃ kārenti*]. While waiting their turn they busied themselves with commerce. This person [Pukkusa] was traveling as a merchant with five hundred carts of merchandise, standing at the front of the line when the wind was blowing from that direction, and at the back when the wind was blowing from behind. He sat on the cart containing the jewels and thought: 'I leave Kusinārā and go to Pāvā.' He then walked along the road" (*Sv.*, p. 569). This description tells us about the republican nature of merchant tribes and of the connections between early Buddhism and merchant capital. Rhys Davids states that Buddhaghosa said that the Mallas were Ksatriyas, but no such information appears in his commentary, which, on the contrary, tells us about the social conditions in the north of Uttar Pradesh, where caste divisions had not penetrated. It is also said that in the Buddha's time there were seven, not four, castes (see the first edition of my *Indo kodaishi I* [History of ancient India, vol. 1], vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū*, p. 566 et seq.). "Āḷāra Kālāma": This is the personal name (Kālāma is the family name). (Āḷāro *ti tassa nāmaṃ Dīgha-piṅgalo kira so, ten' assa* Āḷāro *ti nāmaṃ ahosi.* Kālāmo *ti gottam; Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 569). "Walking down the road": The Sanskrit version says "Putkasa, a Malla, was walking along the road toward the Hiraṇyavatī River" (*nadīṃ Hiraṇyavatīm adhvapratinno; Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 264).

184. "Even though you were": *samāno*, which is the present particle of the verb *as* (to be). When the present particle is joined with a noun substantive or an adjective it becomes the *participium conjunctum*. Thus it can be translated as "because" or "though" (*SKP*, §16, p. 27). "Neither saw . . .": *so tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro . . . sakaṭasatāni . . . na addassa.* "Du sahst, Herr, obwohl du bei Bewusstsein warst (und) wach die Wagenhunderte nicht?" (*SKP*, §16, p. 27).

185. "Truly": *yatra hi nāma* (= *yo nāma; Sv.*, p. 569).

186. MPS, IV, 26–27 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 130–31).

187. "The rain falling from the heavens": *deve vassante*, literally, "The deva caused the rain to fall." People of the time believed that rain was a function of the deities: "When it is dry, thunder is made to sound and rain to fall" (*Sv.*, p. 569).

188. "Chaff-house": *bhusāgāra*. The publisher interpreted this as a proper noun and so capitalized it: Bhusāgāra. However, the *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:19a) translates it as a common noun, *i-ts'ao-lu* (一草廬; "thatched hut"). The Sanskrit text is a little different.

189. "That is why": *ettha* (= *etasmiṃ kāraṇe; Sv.*, p. 569).

190. "You": *tvam*. This is the usual pronoun for addressing someone in a conversation. The man speaking to Gotama Buddha thus regarded him as an ordinary person. A follower would speak to him in an entirely different way.

191. "I then": *esāhaṃ* (= *eso* + *ahaṃ*). In this case *esa* is a pronoun with a conjunctive meaning.

192. The passage following "Excellent . . ." is a formula stated by those who expressed their faith in the Buddha when they eventually took refuge in him after talking with him. The formula was inserted here at a later date.

193. "Thus . . . I": *esāhaṃ*. "Daher" (*Franke DN*, p. 227).

194. MPS, IV, 28–34 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 131–33).

195. *Pukkuso Malla-putto aññataraṃ purisaṃāmantesi.* There was a man beside Pukkusa who ordered the man to bring the cloth.

196. "Finely burnished": *maṭṭa*. The Thai version has *maṭṭha*. "Two lengths of finely burnished golden cloth": *siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ* (= *maṭṭayugaṃ saṇha-sāṭaka-yugaḷan; Sv.*, pp. 569–70). *Sāṭaka* is the outer robe. "A pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 144); "dieses Paar glänzende goldne (Stoffstücke) zum Tragen" (*Franke DN*, p. 227).

197. "May . . .": *anukampaṃ upādāya*. Even today the Sanskrit *anukampayā* means "please," and it appears constantly in conversation. *Anukampayā* is also used, with the same meaning, in Hindi. To translate it as "through pity" would be the same as expressing "please" as "have joy." The equivalent passage in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:198b) is an example of such a direct translation.

198. MPS, IV, 35–36 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 133).

199. *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 145n.

200. "I now take refuge in the Buddha, in the Dharma, and in the Saṃgha. . . . From now on until the end of my life I will strive not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to deceive, and not to drink intoxicants" (*T.* 1:19b).

201. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:184a).

202. MPS, IV, 38 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 134).

203. "Appeared dim": According to the Pāli commentary (*Sv.*, p. 570), "It appeared as if the radiance had been lost, like coals from which the bright flames have disappeared" (vit'accikaṁ viyā *tī yatha vīt'acciko aṅgāro ant'anten' eva jotati, bahi pan' assa pabhā n'atthi, evaṃ bahipacchinna-pabhā hutvā khāyatī ti attho*).

204. "Bright": *pariyodāta*. "So exceeding bright" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 146); "strahlend" (*Franke DN*, p. 228).

205. MPS, IV, 37 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 133–34).

206. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 3, pp. 367–68.

207. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:184a).

208. *Kuang-yen-wei-wei* (光顔巍巍) in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (*T.* 12:266b; no. 360).

209. "Tonight . . . in the last watch": *ajja . . . rattiyā pacchima-yāme*. "Now this day at the third watch of the night" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 146); "in der letzten Nachtwache der heutigen Nacht" (*Franke DN*, p. 228). The night is divided into three "watches" (*yāma*): early night, middle night, and late night. Here Gotama refers to the late-night watch. "The complete death . . . will take place": The Pāli version predicts the Buddha's death here, but since the prediction does not appear in the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan translation, or the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, it should be considered a later accretion (cf. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 134). "The twin *sāla* trees": *yamaka-sālā*. *Sāla* trees stand today at the site of the Buddha's death in

Kuśīnagar, and many are found also in Nepal. In the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:199a), we find the expression *li-shih sheng-ti* (光顔巍巍); literally, "place of the birth of the strong men." Although it is not clear, it might mean the land of the Mallas. Neither Rhys Davids (*Rhys Davids DN*, pp. 146, 199) nor Oldenberg (*Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 19) translates it. "Upavattana": The Pāli commentary (*Sv.*, p. 571) suggests that this was a *sāla* grove that was located in the eastern part of Kusinārā and that people went there to relax (*pācīnato nivattāna-sālavane*). Franke regards it as a pleasure garden ("Erholungspark") in *DN*, p. 228, because *upa + vart* in Sanskrit means "to rest" ("sicherholen"). He says also that various dictionaries define *upavartana* as "Tummelplatz" ("play area") in German or "Land" in English probably considering it an amusement park of horses. Fleet interprets it as "a place on the outskirts of the city" ("The Tradition about the Corporeal Relics of Buddha," *JRAS* [1906]: 659).

210. "Lay down in the lion posture": *sīha-seyyā*. In the lion posture, a person lies on his right side, his head to the north, his face toward the west, and one foot on the other. A similar expression is found in *DN*, no. 16, V, 1; *SN*, I, 4, 8, 2–3 (vol. 1, p. 27); IV, I, 7, 2 (vol. 1, p. 107). In *MN*, no. 125 (vol. 3, p. 135, *ll.* 6–8) the Buddha encourages *bhikkhus* to sleep in this way. Even in modern India, cultured people consider this to be the correct sleeping posture. No doubt it is a custom that predates Buddhism.

211. "I would lie down": *nipajjaṃ*. This verb is in the first-person singular present tense, a form seen only in *gāthā* (verse). See Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, §122, p. 107. It should not be considered a noun, though many translators have done so.

212. "Urged": Some variant texts have *codito* instead of *nodito*.

213. "Cunda": The Elder Cunda (Cundatthero) happened to be close to the Venerable Master, and the Venerable Master talked to him (*Sv.*, p. 571).

214. MPS, IV, 38–41 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 134–35). This verse does not appear as such in the Sanskrit version, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, or the Tibetan translation. Regarding the verse, see Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 3, pp. 368–70. Many later Buddhist texts contain examples of prose repeated in verse; this might be considered the precursor of such examples. Verse generally tends to be expressed more vividly and movingly (Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 1051). In this instance the verse and prose sections originally existed separately, and the verse was inserted when the *suttanta* was compiled (Gantvāna Buddho *ti imā pi gāthā saṅgīti-kāle yeva ṭhapitā*; *Sv.*, p. 571).

215. "The venerable Cundaka," *DN*, p. 147; "der ehrwürdige Cundaka," *Franke DN*, p. 229.

216. "Fruit": *phala*. By extension, it means "result" in relation to "cause" (*hetu*). "Result": *vipāka*. The Chinese translates it as *i-shu* (異熟; "differently [*vipāka*] maturing [*pāka*]"). Good actions (the cause) bring about pleasure, while evil actions bring about suffering. Causal action can be good or evil, but the resulting suffering or pleasure is itself neither good nor bad ("morally neutral"; *avyākata*). Thus the Chinese translated "results" as "maturing in different ways." They can also mature at different times.

217. "The acquisition of power": *ādhipateyya-saṃvattanika* (= *jeṭṭhaka-bhāva-saṃvattanika*; *Sv.*, p. 572).

218. MPS, IV, 42 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 135–36).

219. MPS, IV, 43 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 136).

Chapter 9: The Great Demise

1. Pāli, Kusinārā; Skt., Kuśinagarī; today known as Kuśīnagar. In the *Tsa a-han-ching*, it is transliterated as Chü-shih-na-chieh (倶尸那竭), which is very close to the modern pronunciation. Kuśīnagar is on the edge of the present town of Kasia, some fifty-six kilometers east of Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh. V. A. Smith (*Asoka: The Buddhist Emperor of India* [London: Clarendon, 1920], p. 41) states that the site of Kuśīnagara is near Tribenī Ghāt, where the Little Rāpti River joins the Gandak. He makes reference to his works *The Early History of India from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, 3d ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914], p. 159n); *The Remains Near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, the Reputed Site of Kuçinagara or Kucināra, the Scene of Buddha's Death* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896); "Kusinârâ or Kuśinagara," *JRAS* [1902]: 139–63; and *Archaeol. Survey, Annual Report 1904–5.*

It has become usual to transcribe the site of the Buddha's death in Sanskrit as Kuśinagara, but this is a scholarly convention rather than an authoritative rendition based on the sources. (There are, in fact, a number of instances where scholars have determined the original Sanskrit form of a word, which has subsequently become standard.) The form that appears most frequently in Sanskrit texts is Kuśinagarī (cf. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* [New Haven: Yale University, 1953], p. 189). To Indians, "Kuśinagara" gives a prosaic, businesslike impression, whereas "Kuśinagarī," because it is a feminine form, gives a sense of the emotional, the poetic, the elegant, and the romantic. It is therefore no wonder that Buddhists, in their admiration for the Buddha, preferred the more poetic form, "Kuśinagarī." This form appears in the *Karma-vibhaṅga*, 36, 11. "Kuśanagaram" appears in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, 41, 25, but no actual examples of this usage seem to exist. Today the local people use the form "Kuśīnagar" in both Hindi and Nepali, and this is the official transliteration in both India and Nepal.

It appears certain that local people thought that the place name had something to do with *kuśa* grass. The Japanese Buddhist priest Tatsuo Sakauchi suggests in

correspondence that this is the same grass that is called *chigaya* in northwestern Japan, that it is found along paths between rice fields, and that it sprouts white ears in August. In the past it was used to make rainwear.

Today a small pond lies in front of the Nirvāṇa Hall at Kuśinagar. Several white lotus flowers bloom above the surface of the water, which reflects the hall. It seems to be a natural pool rather than a bathing tank.

2. MPS, V, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 137).

3. That the Hiraññavatī was a large river in the past can be conjectured from the fact that Megasthenes, the Greek envoy from Syria, most likely recorded it as the Erannoboas, according to Arrian and Pliny (E. A. Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica: Fragmenta collegit, commentationem et indices addidit* [Bonn, 1846], pp. 106, 162, cf. pp. 34–35; Otto Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit* [Strasbourg: Trübner, 1902], p. 69 n. 8). The present-day river flows near what is thought to be a stupa, where Sakyamuni's relics were cremated.

4. "Prepare for me a bed": *mañcakaṃ paññāpehi*. "In the grove [*uyyāna*] was the prince's couch [*sayanamañca*]. Referring to this couch, the Venerable Master said, 'Prepare for me a bed'" (*Sv.*, p. 573). This short phrase is developed with a good deal of rhetorical flourish in the *Avadāna Śataka*, vol. 2 (ed. Speyer). This shows that the Pāli version is older (H. Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. Klaus Ludwig Janert [Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1967], p. 986). "Bed": *mañcaka*. In India beds are made of bamboo or cane.

"*Sāla* trees": *sāla* (Pāli; Skt., *śāla*).

This is a very common tree in India and is planted in various parts of the country as one of its three main trees, along with teak and the Himalayan cedar. It grows all over the country, but from ancient times it has formed groves in the foothills of the Himalayas, middle-eastern India, and the western part of the state of Bengal. Because its leaves resemble the ears of a horse, it is called the "horse-ear" tree, and because its wood is hard, it is called the "solid" tree. Its wood being heavy, strong, and durable, it was widely used in building and construction, for railway sleepers, columns, and beams. . . . That *sāla* beams and fence posts have been recovered from the Maurya-dynasty (317–180 B.C.E.) ruins at Pāṭaliputra attests to the wood's ability to withstand the ravages of two thousand years. . . . Its bark is an important fuel and, having a high tannin content, it is used for tanning animal skins and for making brown dye. In some districts its fiber is also used in rope making. Its resin is called *kāla* in Sanskrit; it is used in religious ceremonies as incense and in making paint. Its seeds can be eaten when roasted. . . . The oil from the seeds is called sal butter, and it is used for cooking and illumination (Takamaro Maku, *Butten no shokubutsu* [Plants in the Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1977], pp. 15–17).

The flowers of the *sāla* tree are yellow, different from the yellow berries of the balsam pear, which hang down. Paintings of the Buddha preaching beneath a tree are to be found at Tun-huang, China, and other places; nearly all of them seem to depict the flowers of the *sāla* tree. Buddhaghosa explains the twin *sāla* trees thus: "Tradition says that there was a *sāla* tree at the head of the couch and another at its foot. Near the head was a young *sāla* tree and near the foot was another young *sāla* tree. The twin *sāla* trees were so called because both trees had grown almost identically as regards their roots, trunks, branches, and leaves" (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 573).

"My head facing north": *uttarasīsakaṃ*. Though Rhys Davids interprets this Pāli word as a noun and gives various explanations, it should rather be understood as *bahuvrīhi*. The Chinese translations are quite explicit: "cause my head to lie to the north with my face to the west" (*Yu-hsing-ching* [*T.* 1:21a]), and "ordered the head to be at the north" (*Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* [*T.* 1:199a]). Even today cultured people in India sleep lying on their right side with their head to the north. This passage is immediately recognizable to the Japanese, who are aware of the Buddhist custom, but the ignorance of Western people about Indian life and customs has sometimes caused strange misunderstandings.

5. MPS, V, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 137).

6. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:21a).

7. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:21a).

8. "The *sāla* trees gave forth flowers in full bloom out of season": Based on this legend, *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike) says: "The colors of the twin *śāla* trees reveal the truth that all that prospers must decay." From this statement the average Japanese would assume that the Buddha died in winter, when flowers do not bloom. However, the time of greatest cold in India, and in the Kuśinagar region, is November through December, and even at that time many flowers are in full bloom. Flowers rarely die in India. The legend of the flowers' blooming was inserted to add a miraculous aura to the description of the Buddha's death.

9. "Tathāgata": Usually translated into Chinese as *ju-lai* (如来; "thus come"). The epithet is used to speak of the Buddha in the third person. It is a difficult word to translate; Rhys Davids and Franke, for example, are content to use the Pāli term. Oldenberg translates it adequately as "der Vollendete" (H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, 13th ed. [Stuttgart: Cotta Verlag, 1959], p. 286). Other religions of the time, including Jainism, also used the term.

10. "*Mandārava* flowers": *mandārava-puppha*. Transliterated as *man-t'uo-lo-hua* (曼陀羅華) it refers to celestial flowers. In India, the flower is also called the *mandāraka* or *mandāru*. Botanically it is identified as *Erythrina variegata* (or *Erythrina indica*) of the Leguminosae (or Papilionoideae) family. It is considered one of the five holy trees of heaven (Hideo Kimura, *Kāridāsa bungakushū: Kisetsushū/kumo no shisha* [Collection of Kālidāsa's literary writings: Ṛitusaṁhāra and Meghadūta; Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1965], pp. 242, 255). In the Pure Land of Sukhāvatī, the *mandārava* is said to fall like rain. The botanical equivalent is known as *deiko* in

Japan; it "is a deciduous member of the pulse family that grows to a height of fifteen to eighteen meters. It has ovoid, ternate, and compound leaves, and its trunk has firm needles. In early summer, flowers measuring thirty or forty centimeters bloom in racemes, deep red to violet. They are indeed beautiful" (Maku, *Butten no shokubutsu*, pp. 40–42). Buddhist writings refer to *deiko* flowers as mourning flowers. All the same, *mandārava* flowers are said to have rained from the sky on the occasion of the Buddha's birth (*Buddhacarita*, I, 19). "The sky": *antalikkha*. This word entered Pāli directly from an eastern Indian dialect that changed the Sanskrit *antarī(i)kṣa*. It appears only in Pāli sacred texts. The standard Pāli word is *ākāsa*. The word *antalikkha* can also be found in Jain scriptures, but not in Mahārāṣṭrī texts (*BSBU*, §42, pp. 43–45).

11. "Pays him the greatest veneration": Reverence toward the Buddha is best shown by practicing the correct Way as a human being, not by dedicating some vast ritual to him. The appearance here of a denial of ritual is interesting. Buddhaghosa specifically commented on the "human Way" as follows:

> If a male lay believer commits the five grudges or the ten evil actions, he is not practicing according to the Dhamma. However, if he completely practices the Triple Refuge, the five precepts, and the ten precepts, and practices the eight precepts on the monthly meeting days of the members of the Buddhist order, called *uposatha*, performs selfless giving (*dāna*), makes offerings of incense and flowers, and waits upon his mother and father and those Brahmins and *samaṇas* who keep the Dhamma, he will be practicing the Dhamma. It is also true of a female lay believer [*upāsikā*]. The reason why "greatest veneration" is mentioned is that performing unstained veneration is to protect and keep my teachings. As long as the four groups of believers venerate me in this way, my teachings will shine like the full moon in the sky (*Sv.*, pp. 578–79).

12. MPS, V, 2–3 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 137–38).

13. MPS, V, 4–6 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 138–40).

14. "*Devas*": *devatā*. "Gods" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 151). "The worlds in the ten directions": *dasasu lokadhātusu*. Buddhaghosa makes no comment about this expression, but "ten directions" probably means north, south, east, and west; northeast, southeast, northwest, and southwest; and up and down. There is no sense here of the later concept of the *trichiliocosm* (three thousand great-thousand worlds; *tri-sāhasra-mahāsāhasro loka-dhātuḥ*).

15. "*Yojana*": This is transliterated in Chinese as *yu-hsün* (由旬). It is said to be the distance an imperial army advances in one day. "There is not the space to insert the tip of a rabbit's hair": "Even if those *devas* [were gathered] to total ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty, they occupy a space large enough for the tip of a gimlet to be inserted, and they wouldn't interfere with one another" (*Sv.*, p. 579).

16. "Grumbling": *ujjhāyanti;* complaining in a discontented manner.

17. "Thus are the *devas* muttering": This implies that the magical and spiritual

powers of the *bhikkhus* surpassed those of the *devas*. Such an outlook is still common in the countries of South Asia.

18. "Revered One, what kind of state are the *devas* in, do you think?": The direct translation would be: "The *devas* that the Venerable Master is aware of, what kind of beings are they?" "Herr, welcher Art sind denn aber die Gottheiten, denen der Erhabene seine Aufmerksamkeit schenkt?" (*Franke DN*, p. 232).

19. "Whose thoughts are of the earth": *paṭhavi-saññiniyo*. Buddhaghosa interprets this as "creating the earth in the sky, they then thought about the earth" (*Sv.*, p. 581).

20. "Throwing themselves down like rocks": *chinnapapātaṃ papatanti*. (This expression also appears in *DN*, vol. 2, p. 157, *l.* 21; p. 158, *l.* 16; p. 162, *l.* 19; *Vinaya*, vol. 2, p. 284, *l.* 13.) Here is an example of the use of the accusative case of a compound word to make it serve an adverbial function. In this case the latter half of the compound word has the same form as the finite verb (*SKP*, §50, p. 64).

21. "The Eye of the World": *cakkhuṃ loke;* a metaphorical expression for the Buddha.

22. "'All things . . . not decayed]?'": This sentence refers to MPS, III, 48: "All that is born, exists, is made is bound to decay. How can it be in this world that things should not decay? Such a principle is impossible." See also MPS, VI, 19.

23. "Would come": It was a custom for the *bhikkhus* to visit Sakyamuni before and after settling down for the rainy season.

24. "A person of good family": *kulaputta*. This refers to an excellent, refined, respectable person; "ein ordentlicher Mensch" (*Franke DN*, p. 232). Franke notes that the German *anständig* might be suitable, since it has the sense both of "well-born" and "sincere and refined" (*Franke DN*, p. 232). Rhys Davids's translation of "clansman" is too literal and conveys nothing (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 153). "Places . . . should feel emotion on visiting": *Dassanīyāni saṃvejanīyāni ṭhānāni*. "Auf das Gemüt wirkende Stätten" (*Franke DN*, p. 232); "places, which (the believing clansman) should visit with feelings of reverence" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 153). ('Dassanīyāññī *ti dassanārahāni. dassan'atthāya gantabbāni.* saṃvejanīyānī *ti saṃvega-janakāni; Sv.*, p. 582.) The meaning is clearly "place of pilgrimage."

25. "Here the Tathāgata was born": *Idha Tathāgato jāto*. This phrase corresponds to King Aśoka's pillar inscription at Lumbinī, *hida buddhe jāto* and *hida bhagavaṃ jāte ti*. This set form, transmitted in an ancient eastern Indian dialect, was thus transferred to the Pāli text. The epithets "buddha" and "bhagavat" used by Aśoka show the king's personal kinship and reverence, while the expression Tathāgata, which appears in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, is the usual nonpersonal form of reference. "Here the Tathāgata was born—the place": the Lumbinī Garden in Nepal.

26. "Here the Tathāgata attained supreme and perfect enlightenment—the place": Bodhgayā (Buddhagayā), in Bihar, India.

27. "Here the Tathāgata began to teach the Dhamma—the place": Deer

Park (Pāli, Migadāya; Hindi, Sārnāth) on the outskirts of Vārāṇasī. Since ancient times, large numbers of ascetics and religious practitioners have gathered here.

28. "Here the Tathāgata entered *nibbāna* without residue—the place": Kusinārā.

29. "Making a pilgrimage": *cetiya-cārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā*. Regarding what was necessary while making pilgrimages, Buddhaghosa said: "If you clean the sacred ground around the shrine, wash the [stone] seats, sprinkle water on the Bodhi tree, and circumambulate, there is nothing else that you need to do" (*Sv.*, p. 582). "Shrines": *cetiya*. A shrine with a building, that is, a mausoleum, is meant here. Buddhaghosa also identified it as the *cetiya* within temples and monasteries (*Sv.*, p. 582). "Heilige Denkstätte" (*Franke DN*, p. 233).

30. MPS, V, 7–8 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 140–41).

31. MPS, V, 9 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 141).

32. "*Bhikkhus*, regarding women like your mother, think upon them as your mother. Regarding women like your sisters, look upon them as your sisters. Regarding women like your daughters, look upon them as your daughters" (*Sv.*, p. 583).

33. *Eṣa bhadantāyuṣmān Ānando bhagavataḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ sthito mañcam avalambya prārodīd (aśrūṇi pravartayā)mānaḥ* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 296). The Tibetan version is the same as the Sanskrit (*khri la ḥjug nas*), as is the Sarvāstivādin.

34. "Dwelling": *vihāra*. Buddhaghosa interprets this as *idha Maṇḍala-mālo vihāro ti adhippeto* (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 584). The *sāla* grove was a pleasure garden belonging to the Mallas, and so it had a circular building where people probably gathered to perform rites. However, the composer of the sutra believed that the context suggested that there was a small hut among the trees where Gotama took his rest. Buddhists of later times would probably have interpreted *vihāra* as a monastery. This is not surprising, considering that this interpretation was shared by those who translated the sutras into Chinese and by modern scholars who have made colloquial translations. "Doorpost": *kapisīsaka* (= *dvāra-bāha-koṭiyaṃ ṭhitaṃ aggaḷa-rukkhaṃ*). "The base of the bolt on the side of the bar that shuts the door" (*Sv.*, p. 584). A literal translation of the expression would be "monkey's head." Professor Makoto Nagai suggests that a carving of a monkey's head was attached to the bar. "Ānanda entered the dwelling, leaned heavily against the doorpost, and wept": This section (*vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ ālambitvā rodamāno ṭhito*) is clearly a later addition. "One who still has much to learn": *sekha*. In Chinese this is usually translated as *yu-hsüeh* (有学). The phrase is generally understood to mean that though Ānanda had been ordained as a *bhikkhu*, he had not yet attained the ultimate stage of *arahant*. "Still have much to do": Though Ānanda had entered the sacred Way, he had not yet attained the final nirvana.

35. MPS, V, 13 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 143–44).

36. MPS, V, 14 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 144). The teachings summarized in this section appear in the Sanskrit version in two different places (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 198, 298).

37. "How could they": *Labbhā* is the old operative third-person singular and is thought to derive from *labhyāt*. In the Pāli, however, it is used as an indeclinable word. The same applied in Māgadhī (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, eds., *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* [London: The Pali Text Society, 1986], s.v. *labbhā*).

38. "Acting . . .": In the original, the phrase *vacī-kammena . . . pe . . . mettena manokammena* is repeated. Here I have abbreviated the text. "Compassionately": "Compassion" is often used in Japan to refer to the action of a senior person toward a junior. Here we find it being used about a junior person in relation to a senior. But Chinese translations equivalent to this section are simple, and the word for "compassion" does not appear in them. "Wholeheartedly": *advayena*. "This means not to create two sides, not to make the following kind of distinction: 'If one person is present before us, we do not turn to others. If one person is in attendance, we turn to others' (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 584); in other words, with a pure attitude which does not harbor an outer and an inner face.

39. "You will become stainless": "You will attain *nibbāna*." Buddhaghosa explains: "When the holy scriptures were compiled, scholars interpreted the expression as meaning 'you will attain the state of *arahant*.' It is because serving a person such as I will bring its karmic reward" (*Sv.*, p. 585). This is a doctrinal viewpoint of later times.

40. MPS, V, 17–18 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 146–47). Sections 17 and 18 also appear at the beginning of the *Mahā-sudassana-suttanta*, *DN*, no. 17. For the Buddha's determination of Kusinārā as the site of his entry into *nibbāna*, see *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 1:21a–22c) and *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*.

41. "Small": *kuḍḍa*. Buddhaghosa interprets this as *khuddaka* (this same reading appears in variant texts). The Sanskrit *kṣudra* becomes *khudda* in Pāli; there are no other instances of the form *kuḍḍa*. Rhys Davids (*DN*, p. 161n) understands *kuḍḍa* to be the Sanskrit *kuḍya* and interprets it as "a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India of wattle and daub." Another interpretation of the derivation of the word appears in Rhys Davids and Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (pp. 47–48), but the meaning is the same. Rhys Davids's interpretation can be verified from a different angle. In the Ardhamāgadhī of the Jain canon, *kuḍya* (wall) is *kuḍḍa* (Ratnacandraji, *An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary* [Ajmer: Babu Durga Prasad, 1923], vol. 2, p. 494). "In . . . a small town": *kuḍḍa-nagarake*. "A squalid small town like a city" (*nagara-paṭirūpake sambādhe khuddaka-nagarake*; *Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 586). The word *nagara* means "city," and the diminutive suffix *-ka* adds the meaning of "small." Here *nagaraka* has been translated as "small town." "Town, in the midst of a bamboo grove": *ujjaṅgala-nagaraka* (= *visama-nagaraka*; *Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 586). Buddhaghosa interprets this as a ramshackle small town, like

one in the depths of a forest, where people do not practice the right Way. Buddhism took its root in places "neither far from nor near settlements." In the beginning Buddhism was an urban religion, though one that rejected urban culture. "Far from everywhere": *sākha-nagaraka* ("town of leaves and branches").

42. "Campā": This was the capital of Aṅga. Its ruins are near the modern Bhāgalpur in northwestern Bengal. "Sāvatthī": Skt., Śrāvastī. This was the capital of Kosala. It is located at a place called Sahet-Mahet, near Balrampur in the northern part of modern Uttar Pradesh. The Jetavana monastery was in its suburbs. "Sāketa": This was a large city in central India. "Kosambī": Skt., Kauśāmbī. This was the capital of Vatsa. It is said to be the village of Kosam near the confluence of the Yamuna and the Ganges, some forty-eight kilometers upstream from Allahabad.

43. "Wealthy": *mahāsāla* ("having a large palace"). Buddhaghosa interpreted this word as *mahāsāra* ("great essence"), but that is only a substitution of one word by another of similar pronunciation. The Ceylonese commentary is not necessarily always accurate. "Khattiyas": *khattiya-mahāsālā*. "Reiche Adlige" (*Franke DN*, p. 237); "wealthy nobles" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 161).

44. "Mahāsudassana": Rājā Mahāsudassano. A detailed account of this king appears in *DN*, no. 17, *Mahā-sudassana-suttanta*, which follows the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*.

45. "Gongs": *samma* (= *kaṃsa-tāḷa; Sv.*, p. 587).

46. *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:169 et seq.); *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:201 et seq.).

47. The reference to King Mahāsudassana in the Pāli text is comparatively short. The lengthier versions in the Sanskrit text and the *Yu-hsing-ching* may correspond to the Pāli *Mahā-sudassana-suttanta* (*DN*, no. 17).

48. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:185b).

49. *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:169c).

50. *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:200c).

51. The Mallas were of two groups, one of which lived in Kusinārā and the other in Pāvā.

52. "Come to him": *abhikkhamatha* (= *abhimukhā va gamatha, āgacchatha; Sv.*, p. 587). This expression means "come near to this place." "Vāseṭṭhas": the name of the Mallas' *gotta*.

53. "Taking up his outer robe and bowl": Since Ānanda was not going out to seek alms, it might be thought that his bowl was unnecessary. It was, however, the formal practice of a *bhikkhu* to carry a bowl on all occasions, even if he was not actually going to use it. Cf. MPS, IV, 37 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 133); *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 55; vol. 3, p. 379; *Sv.*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 186.

54. "Daughters-in-law": *suṇisā* (Skt., *snuṣā*). "Schwiegertochter." The word *suṇisā* is the form that appears in the Pāli canon and is influenced by an eastern dialect. The form generally found in Pāli literature, *suṇhā*, is influenced by a western dialect (*BSBU*, §184, pp. 135–36). "Anguish": *aghāvino*. (= *uppanna-dukkhā; Sv.*, p. 587).

55. "Approached the place where the young Ānanda was": In actual fact the people had probably gathered around the ill mendicant out of sympathy and curiosity, and Ānanda had them pay homage to him. The compiler of the *suttanta* makes no mention of Ānanda's return, though he must have by that time come back to his master's side. The reader is left somewhat confused. The ancient Indian commentators took great pains to integrate matters of doctrine consistently, but they were not so concerned about consolidating accounts of people's actions.

56. "Thought to himself": Here we see evidence of Ānanda's intelligence and his fitness for the position of personal attendant to the Buddha.

57. MPS, V, 19–22 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 147–48).

58. Subhadda's visit to the Buddha is recounted in MPS, V, VI; Henry Clarke Warren, trans., *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), p. 105; *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:25a–b).

59. "Doubt [uneasiness]": *kaṅkhā*. "A certain feeling of uncertainty" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 164); "der und der Zweifel" (*Franke DN*, p. 239).

60. MPS, V, 23–24 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 148–49).

61. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XL, 1–19, p. 366.

62. MPS, V, 24 (vol. 2, p. 149).

63. MPS, V, 24 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 149–50).

64. This is a quotation from the Sanskrit text (*alam Ānanda mā Subhadraṃ parivrājakaṃ vāraya praviśatu pṛcchatu yad yad evākāṅkṣate*).

65. MPS, V, 25 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 150).

66. "*Samaṇas* and Brahmins": *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*. None of the six teachers listed was of Brahmin origin (*Sv. ad Sāmaññaphala-suttanta*, §§3–7). The word *samaṇa* combines meanings from the roots *śram* ("to work") and *śam* ("to be quiet"). Rhys Davids translates it as "the leaders in religious life," believing the word to mean that *samaṇas* were respected by people for their religious life, regardless of their caste background (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 165n). This seems to be an overly European and rational interpretation. Religious people as a whole were indicated by the compound *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*, and there is no reason why it should not refer to the six teachers as a general term. For similar expressions, see *Jātaka*, vol. 1, pp. 57, 187; *MN*, vol. 1, pp. 285–86, 400; vol. 2, p. 54; *AN*, vol. 1, p. 180; vol. 3, p. 228.

67. "Who are venerated": The six philosophers are called the "six teachers." They are discussed in the *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta* in the *Dīgha-nikāya*. (See my *Shisō no jiyū to Jainakyō* [Freedom of thought and Jainism], vol. 10 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* [Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1991], pp. 33–392.)

68. "Pūraṇa Kassapa": Pūraṇa is the personal name and Kassapa the family name. He rejected the concept of morality and asserted that evil did not incur

retribution. "Makkhali Gosāla": The founder of the fatalist Ājīvika teachings. "Ajita-Kesakambalin": A materialist who allowed the actual existence of only the four elements: earth, water, fire, and wind. He stressed that all other things were false. "Pakudha Kaccāyana": Pakudha is the personal name and Kaccāyana the family name. He asserted the real existence of seven elements only: earth, water, fire, wind, spirit, suffering, and pleasure. "Sañjaya Belaṭṭhi-putta": Sañjaya is the personal name and Belaṭṭhī his mother's name. He was a skeptic who believed that no absolute conclusive judgment was possible. "Nigaṇṭha Nātha-putta": Nigaṇṭha refers to the religious sect with which he was affiliated. His name may also be written "Nāta-putta"; Nātha is the name of his clan. He was the founder of Jainism.

69. MPS, V, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 150–51).

70. Kenneth Ch'en, "The Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra and the First Council," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (1958): 128ff.

71. MPS, V, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 151).

72. "There are different teachings in the world": Skt., *tīrthyāyatanāni*. The Pāli text has merely *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*. When the Pāli version was compiled, Buddhists did not yet have much consciousness of non-Buddhist sects. The compilers of the Sanskrit version, however, were conscious that other sects were different in terms of Buddhism.

73. The name Makkhali Gosāla (*DN*, vol. 1, pp. 48, 53, 54; vol. 2, p. 150; *Sn.*, p. 92) is based on the Sanskrit *maskarin* ("a man holding bamboo"; "mit einem Bambusrohr versehen" [*BSBU*, #73, p. 64]).

74. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XL, 20–27, p. 372.

75. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:187b–88a). Hajime Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 2, in *Butten kōza* (Lectures on Buddhist scriptures; Kyoto: Daizō Shuppan, 1985), pp. 654–58.

76. Pai-lu-tze (白鷺氏) in *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:187b).

77. The verse appears in the Pāli version (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 151), the Sanskrit version (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 376), the Tibetan translation, the Sarvāstivādin version, and the *Yu-hsing-ching*, but it has been rewritten into prose in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*. The prose explanation is probably a later addition.

78. "I left home": The original has *yaṃ;* this is an undeclined particle (*nipātamattaṃ*) and has no special meaning. "To seek the good": In *Sn.*, 965 we find "seeking the good" (*kusalānuesī*).

79. "More than fifty years": *paññāsasamādhikāni*. Concerning *samādhikāni*, see *Jātaka*, vol. 2, p. 383. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* says that the Buddha taught for forty-nine years (*T.* 1:171b–c). The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* says that he spent twelve years as a homeless practitioner and taught for fifty years (*T.* 1:187c).

80. "Outside that": *ito bahiddhā*. This means "other than walking the realm of the correct principle and the Dhamma alone." Influenced by later thought, Buddhaghosa interpreted the phrase as meaning "other than my teachings" (*mama sāsanato bahiddhā*).

81. MPS, V, 27 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 151).

82. *Ṛg Veda*, I, 89, 8.

83. MPS, V, 27 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 152).

84. "There would be no lack of *arahants* in the world": Cf. *Āy.*, p. 3, *ll.* 7–11. Buddhaghosa interprets this expression as "Like a bed of reeds, the world will become full of *arahants*" (*Sv.*, pp. 589–90). The translators followed his lead. This idea appears also in MPS, I, 4 as a metaphor for the excellence of the republic of the Vajjis.

85. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XL, 28–30, p. 376.

86. "The Noble Eightfold Path": "the Aryan eightfold path" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 166).

87. "Wayfarer of the fourth grade": For the four grades of Wayfarer, see *MN*, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 238.

88. "They are devoid of Wayfarers": All the versions are unanimous in interpreting this section: "In whatever teachings or *vinaya*, where the Noble Eightfold Path can be discerned, there can be found Wayfarers [*samaṇa*] of the four grades. All other teachings practiced by various Wayfarers are empty." Since, however, the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* lacks this section, it can be considered a later addition. The expression "Wayfarers of the four grades" probably was used to describe the four types of *samaṇa* that appeared earlier in the *suttanta*.

89. MPS, V, 27 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 151).

90. MPS, V, 28 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 152). This speech appears also in the prose explanation of verse 82 in the *Suttanipāta*.

91. MPS, V, 28–30 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 152–53).

92. "Consecration": *abhiseka;* the consecration ritual of a monarch, when water is dribbled over the head. Perhaps it is a symbolic reference to wonderful merit to be received, or to the qualification attained by the disciple; it should not be taken literally. Buddhaghosa makes no comment on the word.

93. "Was received into the community": *upasampadā*. Rhys Davids translated this word as "was received into the highest grade of the Order." In the later, established Buddhist order, this meant "to receive the full precepts," but no detailed regulations had yet been formulated at the time of the Buddha's death. What we now call the Pātimokkha, a set of more than two hundred rules governing monastic life, was in the earliest period a very simple formulation. See *Sn.*, 968–75, 922 et seq. It is said that Vipassin Buddha also had a Pātimokkha (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 46). Buddhaghosa writes about Subhadda's taking refuge:

> The Elder [Ānanda] led him [Subhadda] to one side and moistened his head with water poured from a flask and, speaking about the meditation of contemplating the body being made up of hair, nails, teeth, and skin [*taca-*

pañcaka-kammaṭṭhāna], cut his hair, placed upon him a yellow robe, conferred the [Triple] Refuge [in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the community of believers], and then led him before the Venerable Master. The Venerable Master spoke to him of meditation [*kammaṭṭhāna*] as a member of the community [*upasampādetvā*]. Having received this, he walked [*caṅkama*] privately in a corner of the grove [*uyyāna*], and as he was doing so he rid himself of all evil demons, and attained both the knowledge of discerning among and understanding the scriptures [*paṭisambhidā*] and the highest stage of the practitioner (*arahatta*). On his return he saluted the Venerable Master and sat down. This is what is meant by the phrase in the *suttanta* that "immediately after he had been received into the community, Subhadda . . ." (*Sv.*, vol. 2, p. 590). This passage shows that in the early period of Buddhism there was as yet no ordination ceremony (*saṅghakammaṃ*) with a defined set of precepts.

94. "Ultimate culmination": *pariyosāna;* in other words, *nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*). Cf. *Maṅgala-sutta*, 10, 11; *Dhp.*, 180; 354.

95. "He became the last of the Venerable Master's direct disciples": According to Buddhaghosa, this was a comment inserted by the compiler (*Saṅgīti-kārāṇaṃ vacanaṃ*) of the *suttanta.*

96. For the final discourse, see MPS, VI, 1–7; *Fo-ch'uei pan-nieh-p'an lüeh-shuo chiao-chiai-ching*, or briefly *Fo-i-chiao-ching* (*T.* 12:1110c–12b); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 107–9.

97. MPS, VI, 1 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 154).

98. "Has doubts or suspicions": See *DN*, vol. 2, p. 287.

99. MPS, VI, 5 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 154–55).

100. "The last": "one who was most inferior regarding the power of virtue; this refers to Ānanda" (*Sv.*, p. 593). Ānanda was young and still far from being fully trained; the Buddha was therefore encouraging him to complete his practice.

101. "Enter the stream of the sage": the traditional Abhidharma concept of *srota-āpanna*, the first of the four stages of the sage. See note 206 in chapter 7 of this volume.

102. "Never backslide": *avinipāta-dhamma*. In *Visuddhimagga*, p. 427, "never will he fall back into the evil states of existence (*duggati*) like the hells" (= *vināsā nipatanti tattha dukkaṭa-kārino*).

103. MPS, VI, 6 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 155).

104. "Perfect your practice untiringly": *appamādena sampādetha* (= *sati-avippavāsena sabbakiccāni sampadeyatha*): "Do not waver in your attention but be aware and bring to realization all that has to be done" (*Sv.*, p. 593). Waldschmidt examined the various translations into other languages in order to reach the following: "Wohlan, ihr Mönche, jetzt verkündige ich euch. Der Vergänglichkeit unterworfen sind die Triebkräfte [Daseinsfaktoren, saṃkhāra], geht ans Werk ohne Nacklässigkeit." Since as the sutra itself says, "This is the Tathāgata's last teaching [*pacchimā vācā*]," it is easy to imagine how important it was considered. Buddhaghosa wrote: "Thus the Bhagavant lay down on the couch of the great *parinibbāna*, distilled his teachings of forty-five years into the single verse 'Persevere,' and gave it [to the *bhikkhus*] (*iti Bhagavā parinibbānamañce nipanno pañca-cattārīsa vassāni dinnaṃ ovādaṃ sabbaṃ ekasmiṃ appamādapade yeva pakkhipitvā adāsi; Sv.*, p. 593).

105. MPS, VI, 7 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 155–56).

106. Ernst Waldschmidt, "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Parinirvāṇasūtra," in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan. Schriften zur Geschichte, Literatur, Religion und Kunst des indischen Kulturraumees* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 80–88.

107. On the Buddha's death: MPS, VI, 8 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 156); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 109; *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:26b–c); *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:188b–c); *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 12:904b–c).

108. *SN*, I, 6, 2, 5, 1–2 (vol. 1, pp. 157–58). See *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 44 (1197) (*T.* 2:325b).

109. "Initial *jhāna*": The four *jhāna* stages are given in the text. These are the four stages of meditation associated with the realm of form, produced when all delusions of the realm of desire have been transcended. The first stage is enumerated in terms of the five mental functions: investigation, contemplation, joy, ease, and concentration of mind. The second stage comprises four mental functions: inner purity, joy, ease, and concentration of mind; the third stage has five mental functions: equanimity, mindfulness, wisdom, ease, and concentration of mind; and the fourth stage has four mental functions: neither suffering nor ease, equanimity, mindfulness, and concentration of mind (*Pan-ni-yüan-ching* [*T.* 1:188b]). These are known in Sanskrit as *catur-dhyāna* in the *Laṅkāvatāra*. They are translated into Chinese as *ssu-ch'an* (四禅) or *ssu-ch'an-ting* (四禅定). Their stages are known as *ssu-ch'an-t'ien* (四禅天; "the four *jhāna* heavens")—they are the four abodes of the realm of form produced through the practice of the four *jhānas* and also refer to the deities that dwell there (*She ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-p'ien chia-ch'ih-ching ju-lin-hua t'ai-tang-hai-hui pei-sheng man-t'u-lo kuang-ta-nien-sung-i-kuei kung-yang fang-pien-hui*, fasc. 2 [*T.* 18:80b and 106a]; *Wu-men-kuan* [*T.* 48:295c]). The four *jhānas* of the realm of form and the four formless concentrations are collectively known as *ssu-ch'an pa-ting* (四禅八定; "four *jhānas* and eight concentrations") in the *Mo-ho-chih-kuan*, fasc. 9 (*T.* 46:122b–c). The terms "realm of form" and "formless realm" do not, however, appear in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*

110. "The stage of the abode of the infinity of space": This stage and the following three stages are known as *ssu-wu-she-ting* (四無色定; "the four formless concentrations"). They refer to the four stages of the formless realm, proceeding from the stage of the abode of the infinity of space to the stage of the abode of neither perception nor nonperception. These four formless states of mind are: the abode of the infinity of space, the abode of the infinity of consciousness, the abode of nothingness, and the abode of neither perception nor nonperception. The stages, free from all material bonds in the practice of meditation, are divided into four (*Chü-she-lun*, Hsüan-tsang translation, fasc. 29 [*T.* 29:151b]). They are also

called *ssu-wu-she* (四無色; "four formless states") in the *Chi-i-men-lun*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 26:392b), and the *Chü-she-lun*, fasc. 28 (*T.* 29:145c–46a). In Sanskrit the expression is *catvāro 'rūpyāḥ;* in Pāli, *cattāro arūpā.* The Chinese expressions are: *ssu-wu-she-ch'u* (四無色処; "four formless abodes") in the *Chü-she-lun*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 29:6b); *ssu-k'ung* (四空; "four emptinesses") in the *Shikyōgi chū* (Chōdō Sageyama, com., *Tendai Shikyōgi Shūchū* [Collected notes to the fourtold teachings of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism; Kyoto: Kōkyō Shoin, 1895–96]), middle, lower 14; *ssu-k'ung-ch'u* (四空処; "four abodes of emptiness") in the *Chü-she-lun*, fasc. 8; *ssu-k'ung-t'ien* (四空天; "four heavens of emptiness") in the *Shikyōgi chū*, upper, last 28. Meditation practiced for the sake of birth in the four abodes of emptiness is called *ssu-k'ung-ting* (四空定; "four meditations for emptiness").

111. "He entered the concentration of cessation of perception and feeling": The nine stages (the previous eight stages and this one) were amalgamated by later Buddhist scholars as "the *samādhi* of nine gradual degrees." They are termed "gradual" because they are attained one after the other (*Chü-she-lun*, fasc. 5 [*T.* 29:25c]). In the *Milindapañha* (p. 176) they are called the nine *anupubba-vihāra-samāpatti*, which shows the insertion of established religious ideas. They are also called *chiu-tz'u-ting* (九次定) in the *Ch'ang-a-han shih-pao-fa-ching*, and *chiu-tz'u-ti ssu-wei-cheng-ting* (九次第思惟正定) in the *Yin-ch'ih-ju-ching.* There is no reference to the concentration of cessation of perception and feeling in the *Saṅyutta-nikāya;* this fact suggests that this term was a later addition to the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta.*

112. "Friend Ānanda": In reply to Ānanda's addressing of Anuruddha as "venerable" (*bhante*), Anuruddha calls Ānanda "friend" (*āvuso*). It is clear that Anuruddha viewed Ānanda as his junior.

113. MPS, VI, 8–9 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 156).

114. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:30a–b).

115. "The Puṣya star": Skt., Puṣya; Pāli: Pussa. The Chinese expression Fei-hsing (沸星) used to translate or transliterate this word does not appear in Chinese dictionaries, which suggests an Indian origin.

116. "The most venerable of all two-legged beings": the Buddha is supreme among human beings ("two-legged" = Skt., *dvipad*).

117. "Thickets": a metaphor for rebirth and transmigration whose origin is obscure. *Vanatha* means "underwood," "brushwood," or "thicket," and can also refer to the desires, being used as a metaphor for "lust" (*taṇhā*).

118. "The highest Way": enlightenment.

119. "City of *nirvāṇa*": *nieh-p'an-ch'eng* (涅槃城); a metaphor for *nirvāṇa.*

120. "City of *nirvāṇa*": *ni-yüan-ch'eng* (泥洹城); a metaphor for *nirvāṇa.*

121. "Enlightenment": *bodhi.* In fact, the term *saṃbodhi* is generally used to refer to enlightenment.

122. The *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:30b–c) attests to the legendary nature of the dates of the Buddha's enlightenment and *nirvāṇa.*

123. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:903b).

124. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:235b).

125. Shinjō Mizutani, trans. into Japanese, *Daitō saiiki ki* (Records of the western regions), vol. 22 of *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei* [Collection of Chinese classical literature; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971]), p. 206 n. 4.

126. The dates of the Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and death are differentiated in Japan, though not in the countries of South Asia. The classical significance of the various theories is discussed in Tetsujiō Inoue and Kentoku Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden* (Biography of Śākyamuni, enlarged ed. [Tokyo: Maekawa Bun'eikaku, 1911]), pp. 271–73:

The account of Kuśinagara in the sixth fascicle of the *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi* says, "The records of people of the past [concerning the date of the Buddha's death] say that the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa* at the age of eighty on the fifteenth day of the second half of the month of Vaiśākha. This corresponds to the fifteenth day of the third month [of the T'ang Chinese calendar]. The Sarvāstivādins, however, say that the Buddha entered *parinirvāṇa* on the eighth day of the second half of the month of Kārttika, which corresponds to the eighth day of the ninth month [of the calendar]." Vaiśākha is the second month of the Indian Caitrādi calendar; the Buddha's death was calculated as occurring on the fifteenth day of Vaiśākha, that is, on the day of the full moon. In terms of the solar calendar, Vaiśākha lasts from the latter half of March to the first half of April. This theory was not noted by Hsüan-tsang alone; it was also transmitted by Buddhaghosa in the *Samantapāsādikā* (*Vinaya-piṭāka*, ed. Oldenberg, vol. 3, p. 283) and it was also adopted in the *Mahāvaṃsa.* We should know that it was an old belief widely accepted in India before the time of Hsüan-tsang. For this reason, a great many sutras identify the fifteenth day of Vaiśākha as being the date of various important events, such as the birth and death of the Buddha and the birth of Rāhula, and so it should not be taken too seriously.

The Sarvāstivādins asserted that the eighth day of the second half of Kārttika was the date of the Buddha's death. Kārttika is the eighth month of the Caitrādi calendar, and its eighth day corresponds to October 13 in the solar calendar. Hsüan-tsang traveled to India in the seventh century, Buddhaghosa lived in the fifth century, and the compilation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* dates from the sixth century. The Sarvāstivādin theory is mentioned in Hsüan-tsang's travel record, which was written later than the others. But, considering the Sarvāstivādin theory of the dating of the Buddha's death to be much older, J. F. Fleet adopted the Sarvāstivādin dating given in the [Hsüan-tsang's *Ta-T'ang*] *hsi-yü-chi* to calculate the date of the Buddha's death as being October 13, 483 B.C.E., according to the solar calendar. He explains his in-depth investigation in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1909, pp. 1–36) titled "The

Day on Which Buddha Died." His hypothesis is the most developed of all the theories the scholars of Indian studies have published; in fact, it bears a similarity to those in the *chung-sheng-tien-chi* [衆聖点記; "dotted record"] and *Samantapāsādikā* [*Shan-chien-lü p'i-p'o-sha*, the eighteen-fascicle commentary on the *Vinaya* translated into Chinese by Saṅghabhadra in 489]. Since each of the seven theories we have discussed has merit and a strong foundation, we should now suspend our attempt at a precise conclusion and temporarily place the year of the Buddha's death at 485 B.C.E.

The date of the Buddha's birth is likewise subject to different opinions. Based on the above assumption of 485 B.C.E. as the date of the Buddha's death, his birth would then be calculated at 565 B.C.E., by subtracting eighty years from the former date. The account of Kapilavastu in the *[Ta-T'ang] hsi-yü-chi* says that the Buddha "was born on the eighth day of the latter half of the month of Vaiśākha, which corresponds to our [Chinese] eighth day of the third month. The Sthaviravādins [Theravādins] say it was on the fifteenth day of the latter half of the month of Vaiśākha, which corresponds to our [Chinese] fifteenth day of the third month." Vaiśākha, as we discussed above, lasts from March to April; the eighth day of its latter half would therefore be early April. The most widely held view in Japan about the Buddha's birth is that it occurred on the eighth day of the fourth lunar month, and it is on this day that it has traditionally been celebrated.

127. *Mahāvaṃsa*, III, 2.

128. *Mahāvaṃsa*, I, 12.

129. For a further discussion of this point, see my former series *Indo kodaishi I* (Ancient history of India, vol. 1), vol. 5 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū*, pp. 601–2.

130. MPS, V, 2 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 137).

131. For example, Govindacandra Pāṇḍeya writes it as Kuśīnagar (*Bauddha dharma ke vikās kā itihās* [Lakhnaū: Hindī Samiti, 1963], p. 58).

132. At the time of the Buddha's death, Kusinārā was known as "a miserable little town in the bush" (*Jātaka*, no. 95, vol. 1, p. 391). According to the *Jātaka* (no. 531), its ancient name was Kuśāvatī, and it was connected with the legendary king Kusa, son of Okkāka (= Ikṣvāku in Sanskrit).

133. V. A. Smith gives the form Kuśinagara in his article on the city (J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 7 [Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914]).

134. Since Kuśinagarī is translated into Tibetan as *groṅ-khyer-rtsva-can*, it is apparent that the Tibetans thought that its derivation was *kuśin* + *nagarī*. The *-in* suffix in Sanskrit is expressed in modern Hindi as *ī*; this makes Kuśīnagarī a perfectly acceptable form (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 354, 355). There was no standard orthography in ancient Buddhist texts.

135. The term *vihārasvāmin* also appears in Gupta period–Sāñcī inscriptions

(J. F. Fleet, ed., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*, 3d rev. ed. [Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1970]), no. 73, pp. 279–80). A temple administrator was called a *vihārasvāmin*, while one of a higher grade was a *mahā-vihārasvāmin*.

136. Fleet, ed., *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, no. 69, pp. 272–73.

137. The description in this section is based on my own travel record and on V. A. Smith's article on Kuśinagara in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 7, pp. 761–63. See also *WOB*, pl. 4, 6.

138. *See also* James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 68–72.

139. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:903b). See also Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, book 6 (1884; Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969), pp. 31–33.

140. *Ta-T'ang Ta-tz'u-en-ssu San-tsang fa-shih-chuan*, fasc. 3 (*T.* 50:235b).

141. V. A. Smith's article on Kuśinagara in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 7, pp. 761–63.

142. The lamentations of the deities and the disciples are described in detail in *AvŚ.*, vol. 2, pp. 198–99, though "compared with the Pāli texts, the *Avadāna-Śataka* exhibits the addition of a considerable amount of later poetry" (J. S. Speyer, "Buddhas Todesjahr nach dem Avadānaśataka," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gessellschaft* [Leipzig] 53, no. 1 [1899]: 121ff.; Oldenberg, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 168–71). For research on the poetry said to have been composed at the time of the Buddha's death, refer to Zennō Ishigami, "Sōōbu ugehen ni arawareta Butsuden ni tsuite—toku ni jūyō jiken ni gentei shite" (The biography of the Buddha in the "Sagāthavagga" of the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, limited to the main events), *Sankō bunka kenkyūjo nempō* 3 (1970): 55–67.

143. The text itself calls him Brahmā Sahampati, Master of the Sahā world, the world of present reality. Sahā is sometimes transliterated into Chinese as *suo-p'o* (娑婆). As the cosmology developed in later Buddhism, the first Dhyāna heaven of the realm of form was said to be occupied by a variety of deities; it was divided into three subheavens, Brahmakāyika, Brahmapurohita, and Mahābrahman. The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:188c) and the Sanskrit version (XXXXIV, 6, p. 398) are identical. This verse is spoken by Brahmā Sahampati in the Pāli and Tibetan versions, by the Brahmā king in the Sarvāstivādin version and the *Yu-hsing-ching*, and by Brahmā in the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* and the *SN* (vol. 1, p. 158). The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* makes no mention of Brahmā. Such praise of the Buddha by the creator and master of the world reflects the trend toward deifying the Buddha.

144. "All living beings in this world": *bhūta*. Sentient beings, beings with feeling (*bhūtā ti sattā*; *Sv.*, p. 595). "Bodies": *samussaya*. To be precise, "that which exists in a fixed form." "The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the 'aggregations' (khandha) of mental and material qualities which give to

each being (bhûto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 175n). It is a difficult word to translate into a single term, and Rhys Davids paraphrases it at length: "their complex form—that aggregation / Of mental and material qualities, / That gives them, or in heaven or on earth, / Their fleeting individuality."

145. "Master": *tādin*. "Successor of the prophets of old time" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 175). Since early Buddhism had no clear concept of the seven or twenty-four buddhas of the past, such an explanation hardly seems necessary. The original intent is merely "a person of such wonderful accomplishment as this." "Tathāgata" has the same linguistic construction. "Endowed with power": *balappatta*. Buddhaghosa interprets this word as "being endowed with the ten powers of wisdom" (*dasavidha-ñāṇa-balappatta*). Actually, the idea that the Buddha has ten kinds of power comes from a slightly later period.

146. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 157).

147. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 157G). Sakka (Sakko devānaṃ Indo), lord of the *devas*, is known also as Inda (Pāli; Skt., Indra). The strongest and most widely worshiped deity in the *Ṛg Veda*, he was originally a storm god. The Sakka (Skt., Śakra) of his name was transliterated into Chinese as *shih* (釈), and the description "lord of the deities" was added, making the name Ti-shih-t'ien (帝釈天). The Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Sarvāstivādin texts, the *SN* (vol. 1, p. 158), the *Yu-hsing-ching*, and the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* all attribute this verse to Sakka. The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* states that the Tathāgata spoke these words, while the verse is missing completely in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*. The *SN* (vol. 1, p. 200) has one of the thirty-three *devas* speak the verse to Anuruddha.

148. *Uppāda-vaya-dhammino*. Buddhaghosa interprets this sentence as "things whose true nature is coming into being and falling into decay" (*uppāda-vaya-sabhāva*. . . .). *Vaya*, "fall into decay," is equivalent to the Sanskrit *vyaya*. Pāli preserves the form *vyaya*, from the viewpoint of meter. In general, though, *vaya* is the more common form in Pāli (*BSBU*, §173, pp. 129–30).

149. "Tranquillity of these . . .": *tesaṃ vūpasamo*. Buddhaghosa interprets this phrase as "the unfathomable state of *nibbāna*" (*tesaṃ saṅkhārānaṃ vūpasamo asaṅkhātaṃ nibbānaṃ*); Skt., *vyupaśama;* Tib., *ḥjig par ḥgyur ba*.

150. *Iroha nihoheto / chirinuru (w)o / waka yo tare so / tsune naramu / u(w)i no okuyama / kefu koete / asaki yume mishi / (w)ehi mo sezu / /*

151. "Anuruddha": a Khattiya and a member of the Sakya clan. A cousin of the Buddha who later followed him into homelessness, he is known as one of the ten great disciples. His father was Amṛtaudana or Amitodana (*Mahāvastu*, vol. 3, p. 177). As the younger brother of Mahānāma, he is mentioned in many Buddhist writings. We do not know how much younger than Gotama Buddha he was, but he was probably quite old when the Buddha died. This verse is spoken by Anuruddha in the Pāli text, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*, the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, and the *SN* (vol. 1, p. 159), and by Aniruddha in the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan text, and the Sarvāstivādin version. It does not appear in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching*.

152. "He": *tādi;* refers to a splendid figure. For more on this word, see note 42 in chapter 11 of this volume. "Whose mind is at peace": *ṭhitacittasya tādino*. Cf. *sthiracittasya tāyinah* in *AvŚ.*, vol. 2, p. 199, *l*. 4; Speyer, "Buddhas Todesjahr nach dem Avadānaśataka," p. 122ff.; *Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 400–401.

153. "Free from all desire": *aneja*. The Sanskrit text has *āniñjya*. The *Yu-hsing-ching* has "originally came from *nirvāṇa*," which seems to be the same as the Sanskrit. "Attaining peace": *santim ārabbhā ti anupādisesa-nibbānaṃ ārabbha paṭicca sandhāya* (*Sv.*, p. 595); "peace": *santi* (Skt., *śānti*). In Chinese this word is usually translated as *chi-mieh* (寂滅; "tranquil and extinguished") or *chi-ching* (寂静; "tranquil and quiet"). The modern word, however, means "peace." *Saṃsāra-śānti* translates as "world peace" (as in "movement for world peace"); it would be incorrect to interpret this phrase as "extinguishing transmigration." The tendency of Japanese scholars to translate *saṃsāra-śānti* in terms of ancient Chinese usage rather than the modern understanding is a warning that the living Sanskrit tradition should be considered as well.

154. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 157).

155. This verse is attributed to Ānanda in the Pāli text, the *Yu-hsing-ching*, the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching*, the *SN* (vol. 1, p. 158), and the *Therag*. (1046); and, like the other verses, to Aniruddha in the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan text, and the Sarvāstivādin version. It does not appear in the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* or the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*.

156. "Then": *tadā*. Because this verse begins with the word *tadā*, it apparently is part of a poetic sequence that predates the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*. The verse quoted here was probably inserted by the compiler of the text and attributed to Ānanda. This fact explains its lack of continuity with the context.

157. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 157).

158. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 156).

159. *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T*. 1:205b–c).

160. *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T*. 1:188c); Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, vol. 2, p. 716.

161. For a detailed discussion, see Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), pp. 370–72.

162. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, IV, 1, 2.

163. "[After death]": Completed according to Śaṅkara's commentary.

164. "Nirvāṇa," first century, Sāñcī (*ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 10); stone fragments representing the *mahā-parinirvāṇa*, Śilākhaṇḍa (N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures* [Mathurā: Archaeological Museum, 1966], pl. 85; K. Krishna Murthy, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study* [Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1977], p. 152, pl. XXII); second to fourth century, from Gandhāra, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (*WOB*, pl. III-64); from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 62); third to fourth century, from Kāpisī Shotrak, Kabul Museum (Banri Namikawa, *Namikawa Banri shashinsh*—

Gandāra [Banri Namikawa's photo collection: Gandhāra; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984], pl. 60); ca. second century, Peshawar Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan, 1984, pl. II-17); nirvāṇa carving, sixth to seventh century, Ajantā, Cave no. 26 (Sōtarō Satō, *Kodai Indo no sekichō* [Stone sculptures of ancient India; Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1970], pl. 58; *Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-93; Osamu Takata, *Ajanta—sekkutsu jiin to hekiga* [Ajantā: Cave temples and their wall paintings; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971], pl. 171); seventh century, Ajantā, Cave no. 24 (*WOB*, pl. III-65); tenth century, Peshawar (*Ashutosh Museum*, pl. 66); private collection, U.K. (Inoue and Hori, *Zōtei Shakamuniden*, p. 150); Tibetan style *thang-ka*, Ladakh (*WOB*, pl. III-67). In "Attendants at the nirvāṇa," Tun-huang, Cave 158 (painted during the occupation by the Tibetan army), the attendants are depicted wearing the clothing of different racial groups. Among the people surrounding the Buddha's deathbed in the sculpture on the northern side of the ground floor of the five-storied pagoda at Hōryū-ji, in Nara, Japan, the disciples' grief is portrayed graphically (Taijun Inokuchi, Seizan Yanagida, and Chikusa Masaaki, eds., *Zusetsu Nihon Bukkyō no genzō* [Original images of Japanese Buddhism in illustrations; Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1982], p. 33). "Sculpture of Ānanda grieving at the Buddha's death," twelfth century, from Gal Vihāra, Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka (*WOB*, pl. 68, 69); "Kings grieving at the *nirvāṇa* of Sakyamuni," eighth to ninth century, Bezeklik (Kōichi Machida, ed., *Nyūderī bijutsukan* [National Museum, New Delhi], vol. 9 of *Sekai no bijutsukan* [Museums of the world; Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1968], pl. 128). "Sakyamuni in his shroud" is lifelike and graphic; it is from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, pl. 63).

165. *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 70.

166. *ZIM*, vol. 1, pp. 380–81.

167. *Kōmyō*, no. 58 (1985): 12 et seq. (This is the magazine of the Buzan branch of the Shingon sect.) Incidentally, the temple of Jishō-in in Tokyo contains a "Cat Jizō," a stone icon erected by the warrior Ōta Dōkan (1432–86) to pray for the spirit of a beloved cat. Cats are included in nirvana representations in Japan as a manifestation of compassion or for educational purposes (see, for example, Nihon Bukkyō Hoiku Kyōkai, ed., *Kodomo no Kuni Neko no Iru Nehan no E* [The land of children and the picture of the nirvana where there are cats; Tokyo: Suzuki Shuppan, 1969], and Elizabeth Coatsworth, *The Cat Who Went to Heaven* [New York: Collier Books, Macmillan, 1958]).

168. "The Happy One": Sugata: "Well Departed." The modern vernacular retains this meaning of "to have done well." "The Happy One" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 177); "der Pfadvollender" (*Franke DN*, p. 246); "Le Bien allé" (Lamotte). Lamotte also suggests "le Bien parlant" (Étienne Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse* [Louvain: Bureaux du Museon, 1944], p. 131). "Le Bien parlant" is based on an interpretation of the vernacular *su-gad;* we do not need to consider it here. "The Eye of the World": *cakkhuṃ loke;* an epithet of the Buddha.

169. MPS, VI, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 157–58). This section appears virtually word-for-word in sections V, 6 and VI, 19 of the same *suttanta*.

170. MPS, VI, 11 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 158).

171. MPS, VI, 12 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 159).

172. See the section on the nirvana ceremony in Shinkō Mochizuki, ed., *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (Mochizuki's encyclopedia of Buddhism), vol. 5 (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1966), pp. 4149–50.

173. MPS, V, 13 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 143).

174. MPS, V, 6 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 140).

175. "Should offerings be made on the day of the Buddha's birth, on the day of his enlightenment, on the day when he first turned the wheel of the Dharma [preached his teaching], and on the day of the great meeting of the fifth year. . ." (*Mo-ho seng-ch'i-lü*, fasc. 33 [*T.* 22:498b]).

176. MPS, V, 2 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 137).

177. "Great meeting": *ta-k'uai* (大会); "feast": *yen* (筵). See my *Indo kodaishi I*, p. 596 et seq., p. 601 et seq., and Mochizuki, ed., *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 5, pp. 4547–48, the section on Buddhist ceremonies.

178. [Editor's note: These images were destroyed in 2001 by the country's former Taliban rulers, causing international outrage.]

179. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 1 (*T.* 51:873b). See also Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, vol. 1, "Bamiyan."

180. The Japanese invariably begin their letters with a seasonal reference, while the Indians have no such custom. Furthermore, though Indian poets mention seasonal differences, the seasons do not constitute an integral theme of Indian poetry.

181. Further works on this subject include *Shih-shi-yao-lan*, the three-volume Chinese encyclopedia of observances and terms in Buddhist scriptures compiled by Tao-ch'eng in 1019, and the Japanese works *Shoji engi-shū* (Collection of the abridged histories of major temples in the Kinki region and the procedures for religious observances) and *Tsurezure-gusa* (Essays in idleness) by Yoshida Kenkō, section 220.

182. In my testimonial letter for the reproduction of the Kongōbu-ji *Butsu nehan-zu* (Nirvāṇa picture), published by Taishūkan Shoten, I wrote:

Representations of the Buddha's nirvana have long been favored by Asian Buddhists. Through them they can cherish the memory of Śākyamuni and enter a quiet and peaceful state of mind. Only stone or metal sculptures on this theme remain in the South Asian countries, and the very medium prevents a fine, detailed portrayal of emotion. However, Japanese nirvāṇa paintings, particularly the one in the possession of Kongōbu-ji on Mount Kōya which is a national treasure, are both richly colored and well planned, and moreover, they contain a large number of figures full of individuality and feel-

ing. As a whole, these are expressions of the deepest religiosity. They may be described as the ultimate expression of the Japanese understanding and development of the continental tradition into a unique aesthetic. When I have visited the various countries of Asia I have taken with me miniature reproductions of the Kongōbu-ji picture in order to encourage people to understand both the particularity and the universality of Japanese religious art. I am very happy that now a full-scale reproduction exists so that they may experience more vividly the impact of the original.

183. See note 164 in this chapter. Other examples include a work from the Kushana period found at Gandhāra and now in the possession of the Indian Museum in Calcutta (Chikyō Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 73). Figure 33 on p. 583 of my *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (Illustrated encyclopedia of Buddhist terms; Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1988) is a nirvana representation dating from the second or third century from Gandhāra, also in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Takashi Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai* [Sakyamuni in the fine arts; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1979], pl. 76; Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 73).

184. Other accounts of the funeral include *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:27b–28c); *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 12:905a–906c); *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:189a–b).

185. "Gather": Buddhaghosa interprets this as "gather, beating on drums" (*bheriṃ carāpetvā samāharatha*). "Musical instruments": *tālāvacara* (= *turiya-bhaṇḍa; Sv.*, p. 596).

186. "Raising awnings": Rhys Davids suggests the following about the Mallas' lifestyle: "The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together; to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it is beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof, or stretched along the sides. Every [English] civil servant travelling on duty in remote districts in Ceylon has such a tent or canopy put up for him by the peasantry" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 180n)."Erecting surrounding cloth partitions": *maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā*. Rhys Davids translates this phrase as "and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon," implying that garlands were to be offered to the Buddha's remains. This interpretation is close to the Japanese and European understandings of the phrase. However, Buddhaghosa construes it in the following way: maṇḍala-māle *ti dussa-maṇḍala-māle.* paṭiyādentā ti sajjentā *(Sv.*, p. 596). Since he deliberately adds the word *dussa* ("cloth"), the phrase could not possibly mean "garlands." Based on this reading, we should interpret the phrase to mean to encircle a tent with a lot of cloth after the tent has been set up. When decoding local customs we should be sensitive to the area's traditions and not rely on our own cultural impressions or experiences.

187. "Cremation": *jhāpetuṃ*. The Chinese translation of the term (*t'u-p'i*; 荼毘) is a transliteration of this Pāli word, in the form of *jhāpeti*.

188. "Carry [it] to the south of the city": Ancient Indians thought that the south was the direction governed by Yama, lord of the dead.

189. MPS, VI, 13–15 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 159–60).

190. MPS, VI, 16 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 160–61).

191. The description is based on *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 182 n. 1.

192. "Do not concern yourselves": *avyāvaṭā hotha*. The Pāli *vyāvaṭa* (Skt., *vyāpṛta*) means "engage in." "Mit etwas beschäftigt" (*BSBU*, §99, pp. 83–84).

193. "Strive for the true goal": The thought that Buddhist *bhikkhus* should strive in their own religious training and that they do not perform such things as funerals is seen occasionally in the early Buddhist sutras, as here. These sutras also state that the worship of the Buddha's remains is for ordinary people, not the ordained.

194. "Be earnest": *pahitattā viharatha* (= *pesita-cittā viharatha; Sv.*, p. 583).

195. MPS, V, 10 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 141).

196. The dialogue in this section (V, 11) appears also in VI, 17. Doubtless it became misplaced in the text.

197. "World-ruling monarch": *cakkavatti*. The word is translated into Chinese as *chuan-luen-sheng-wang* (転輪聖王; "holy wheel-rolling king"). As the wheels of the king's chariot roll unhindered through the land, the king's power is undisputed and the king is universally recognized. The ideal of the universal king is described in detail in the *Mahā-sudassana-suttanta, DN*, no. 17. Rhys Davids believes that this ideal reflects the king of Kosala's rising power. Perhaps, though, it would be more accurate to say that the ideal of the wheel-rolling king derives from the rulers of the Mauryan empire. "Wheel-rolling king": *cakkavattin*. Rhys Davids suggests that this is "'the King of the Rolling Wheel,' the wheels of whose chariot roll unhindered through the land" (for example, *Rhys Davids DN*, p. 155 n. 2). Japanese scholars, however, tend to interpret "wheel" as "disc," an instrument of war. The illustration of the wheel of the Dharma shows spokes projecting beyond the rim, strongly suggesting that this wheel represents a weapon. Some see Greek influence here (Tsūshō Byōdō, *Bonshi hōyaku: Budda no shi* [Japanese translation of the Sanskrit verses: The Buddha's death; Yokohama: Indogaku Kenkyūjo, 1961], p. 334), but further research is necessary. The wheel appears as a symbol on items found at Mohenjo Daro and on coins of merchant guilds from the period when Buddhism was at its height.

198. "New cloth": *ahatena vatthena*. "New Benares cloth" (*navena kāsika-vatthena; Sv.*, p. 583).

199. "Carded cotton cloth": *vihatena kappāsena* (= *supoṭhitena kappāsena*). "Be-

cause Benares cloth, by reason of its fineness of texture, does not absorb oil, he says 'carded cotton'" (*Sv.*, p. 583). Rhys Davids interprets this phrase as "carded cotton wool" (*Rhys Davids DN*, p. 155n).

200. "Wrapped in five hundred layers of cloth": *pañcahi yugasatehi.* "Mit 500 Yugas (?)" (*Franke DN*, p. 233). Here *yuga* may be a word expressing amount.

201. "Put into an iron oil-vat": *ayasāya teladoṇiyā pakkhipitvā* (also the sections VI, 17 and 18 of the *suttanta.*) It is quoted as *āyasāya* in *Sv.*, p. 583. Both forms appear in original texts (*Dhp.*, 345; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 77; *Jātaka*, vol. 2, p. 140). The word *ayas* originally meant "bronze," but later came also to mean "iron," until eventually this was the only meaning. Since in the early Pāli texts the word *kaṃsa* also meant "bronze," the use of *ayasa* (also *āyasa*) here must signify that "iron." Buddhaghosa says that here the word means "gold" (*suvaṇṇa*), but when the *suttanta* was composed, "iron" was already generally understood. He probably suggested "gold" believing that "iron" was not fitting for the Buddha. "Another iron vat": In the *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:20a), words such as "golden coffin," "second iron outer box for a coffin," and "sandalwood outer box for a coffin" appear. The *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* says that the remains were put into a golden coffin, which in turn was put into a silver coffin, a copper coffin, and an iron coffin, which was anointed with perfumed oil (*T.* 1:200a). This shows how in later times fanciful elements were allowed greater play.

202. "Cremated": *jhāpeti.* This appears transliterated into Chinese as *t'u-p'i* (荼毘).

203. "Stupa": *thūpa* (Pāli; Skt., *stūpa*). The use of mounds as graves was widespread in Japan, Korea, and Europe, as well as in India. In India they tended to be round. "Crossroads": *cātumahāpatha.* The *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:20b) has *ssu-ch'ü-tao* (四衢道; "four crossroads").

204. Here the Buddha, *paccekabuddha*, and *sāvaka* are given in order, but there is no mention of bodhisattva. This indicates that the *suttanta* belongs to a period prior to the growth of the bodhisattva cult.

205. "One who has enlightened himself": *paccekabuddha.* Such a person has attained enlightenment for himself and dies without teaching the truth to others. Jainism shares the concept. The passage becomes easier to understand if we realize that the term applies to other religions as well.

206. "Venerable Master": *bhagavat.* "Bhagavat" is used in the Upaniṣads and the Indian epic *Mahābhārata* to refer to a philosopher or teacher. Those works precede the Hindu usage of "Bhagavat" as "supreme deity" and the Buddhist application of "Bhagavat" to the deified Buddha.

207. MPS, V, 11–12 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 141–43).

208. MPS, VI, 17–18 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 161–62).

209. "Mahākassapa": Born into a Brahmin family in Magadha, he was one of the ten chief disciples of the Buddha. He was old even during Sakyamuni's lifetime (*Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 41 [*T.* 2:301c]; *Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 6 [*T.* 2:416b]). "From Pāvā to Kusinārā": "He had sought alms in Pāvā; then, he was walking along the road [to Kusinārā], saying 'Let us to go to Kusinārā'" (*Sv.*, p. 597).

210. "Ājīvika": (= Ājīvaka), a member of one of the religious communities of the time. At first of equal standing with Buddhism and Jainism, it declined in the Mauryan period. "Carrying a *mandārava* flower": Buddhaghosa interprets this phrase as follows: "He attached the flower, as large as a large flag [*pāti* = *pātaka*?], to a broken stick he had happened to pick up and used it as a parasol" (*Sv.*, p. 598). This seems like an exaggerated interpretation.

211. MPS, VI, 19 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 162).

212. MPS, VI, 19 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 162).

213. *Athānyataro mahallakas tasyāṃ velāyām idam evaṃrūpam akālabhāṣyam utsṛṣṭavān* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 422).

214. "Who had gone into homelessness in his old age": *vuḍḍha-pabbajito.* The printed version has *buḍḍha-pabbajito* (*vuḍḍha-kāle pana pabbajitattā vuḍḍha-pabbajito; Sv.*, p. 599). "Subhadda": A *bhikkhu* called Subhadda makes his appearance at the end of the fifth chapter of the *suttanta;* the name also appears in the *Vinaya* (vol. 1, p. 249). Professor Oldenberg believes that these are the same man ("Introduction to the edition of the Vinaya," p. xxvi). However, Rhys Davids (*DN*, p. 184n) says: "They are different persons; . . . the last convert was a brahmin, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Aññā Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber [*nahāpita*] in the village of Ātumā" (*Ātumā-vatthusmiṃ nahāpati-pubbako . . . ; Sv.*, p. 599).

215. MPS, VI, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 162). This sentence appears also in the *Vinaya* ("Cullavagga," XI, 1) as the words of Subhadda.

216. "Hsü-pa": 須跋 (*T.* 1:187b). "T'an-t'ou" (檀頭) (*T.* 1:189b).

217. MPS, VI, 20 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 162–63).

218. Concerning the cremation: MPS, VI, 13–23 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 159–64); *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:28c–29a); *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 12:906c–907c); *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:189b–c); T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Suttas*, vol. 11 of SBE (Oxford: The University Press, 1881; reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 130; Paul Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (Rangoon: American Mission Press, 1866), p. 324; R. Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in Its Modern Development* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1853, 1880), p. 362; William Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha* (London: Trübner, 1884), p. 145.

The cremation in art: "Placing in the coffin," Kuṣāṇa period, from Gandhāra, collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Yamamoto, *Bukkyō bijutsu no genryū*, pl. 74; *WOB*, pl. III-70); second to third century, from Gandhāra, collection of Karachi Museum (Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 80); second to fifth century, from Swat, collection of Karachi Museum (Catalogue for the Exhibition of Gandara Art of Pakistan, pl. II-18). "Carrying the coffin," from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 64). "The cremation," second to fourth century,

Gandhāra, collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, pl. III-70); second to fourth century, Gandhāra, collection of Peshawar Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-71); Amarāvatī (Mario Bussagli and Calembus Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971], pl. 69; *Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 65; Yūken Ujitani, *Yomigaeru Borobudūru* [Nagoya: Ajia Bunka Kōryū Sentā, 1987], pp. 145, 146, 166); "The Mallas carrying Sakyamuni's body to the public hall," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-72; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 32a). "Elephants carrying Buddha's relics," second to first century B.C.E., Bhārhut, National Museum, New Delhi (*Exhibition on Ancient Sculptures of India*, 1984, no. 3). Illustration 34 in Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (p. 583) shows the cremation on the right and the erection of the stupa on the left: from Gandhāra, collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-162).

219. "They were not able to do so": This section clearly shows that funerals were the province of laypeople, not the ordained.

220. "Covered his [left] shoulder with his robe": Monks in Burma (Myanmar), for example, wear their robes either covering both shoulders or leaving one uncovered. For formal observances, one shoulder should be uncovered.

221. "Bones": *sarīrāni* (plural), *sarīra* (singular). In the singular form, it means "body" or "corpse." In the plural, it means "bones," "remains," or "relics."

222. "Storehouse of water": *udaka-sālaka* (Skt., *udaka-śālaka*). But *śālā* means an open hall, so interpreting it as "storehouse" is problematic. Buddhaghosa also interpreted the expression as follows: "This refers to the roots of the *sāla* trees that grew around. Water fell from within their branches and their trunks, and extinguished the pyre" (*Sv.*, p. 604). This hardly seems clearer.

223. MPS, VI, 21–23 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 163–64).

224. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XL, 26, p. 432.

225. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, XL, 26.

226. On the division of the relics into eight parts: *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 1:29a–30c); *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6, "Kusinagara"; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 126–38; Samuel Beal, trans., *The Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king: A Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva*, vol. 19 of SBE (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), pp. 325–35. Research on this subject includes: J. Przyluski, "Le partage des reliques du Bouddha," *MCB* 4 (1936): 341–67. For the Buddha's funeral, see Takushū Sugimoto, "Budda no sōgi to shari oyobi tōkuyō (Sarīra-, Thūpa-pūjā)" (Funeral of the Buddha and worship of his relics and tomb [Sarīra-, Thūpa-pūjā]), *Bukkyō kenkyū*, no. 2 (March 1972): 39–54.

The distribution of the relics and the events surrounding it are frequently depicted in art. "The kings fight over the relics": It is said that after Sakyamuni's death, the relics were divided into eight portions and eight stupas were built for them, and that the stupa built by the Koliyas of Rāmagāma was protected by the Nāga king. This legend is related by both Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang. The Nāga king, in that role, appears on a stone relief excavated at Amarāvatī; second to third century, collection of Madras Museum (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 5-12); at the Vaṭadāge at Polonnaruwa (twelfth century), two Nāga kings stand guard at the doorway of the *dāgaba* (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 5-13). "Dispute over the relics": first century B.C.E., Sāñcī, Stupa no. 1, west gateway (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-163; *WOB*, pl. III-74, 75). Of the eight stupas built after Sakyamuni's death, Aśoka opened seven; he was not permitted to open the final one, that at Rāmagrāma, because it was protected by *nāgas*. This episode is illustrated in a carving on the south gateway of Stupa no. 1 at Sāñcī (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 3-48); relief from Peshawar (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 67); second century, Amarāvatī, collection of Madras Museum (*WOB*, pl. III-76). "Protecting the relics" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 66). "The Mallas carrying the relics of Sakyamuni to the public hall," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. 72; *ZIM*, vol. 2, pl. 32a). "King Ajātaśatru hearing of the Buddha's death," sixth century, Qyzyl wall painting (*ZIM*, pl. 612; *WOB*, pl. III-73). "The Mallas build a stupa to house the relics of Sakyamuni," first century B.C.E., Sāñcī (*WOB*, pl. III-5). "A Nāga protects the stupa at Rāmagrāma" (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 5-12). "Stupa worship" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 69). "Tuban worship" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 68). "Worship of the relics" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 70). "Worship of the Three Treasures" (*Sehrai Peshawar*, no. 71). Illustration 35 in Nakamura, *Zusetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten* (p. 583) is of the distribution of the relics (second to third century, from Gandhāra, collection of Lahore Museum [*Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-165; Koezuka, *Bijutsu ni miru Shakuson no shōgai*, pl. 83]).

227. "Veṭhadīpa": also Veṭhanadī (Veṭha River). Perhaps this means the "island in the middle of the great river."

228. The groups that sent messengers are mentioned in the Sanskrit text: *rājā Māgadho 'jātaśatrur, . . . Pāpīyakā Mallāś, Calakalpakā Bulakā, Viṣṇudvīpīyakā brāhmaṇā, Rāmagrāmīyakāḥ Kraudyā, Vaiśālakā Licchavayaḥ, Kāpilavāstavyāḥ Śākyāḥ . . .* (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 434–36). According to the Sanskrit text, the groups all sent armies.

229. "The Sakyas of Kapilavatthu": Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā. Kapilavatthu was the capital of the Sakyas. Scholars previously believed that the site was at Tilaurâ Kôt in Nepal; in recent years some Indian archaeologists have claimed that it was at Piprāhwā in northern Uttar Pradesh. The question remains unresolved.

230. "A Brahmin": That a Brahmin pleaded to have a portion of the relics presented a problem (see note 231 in this chapter). Brahmins must have been among the early Buddhists. When venerating the relics they would have used Brahmanical rites, since Buddhist funerary rites had not yet developed.

231. "Worthy to receive a portion": This Brahmin was not a Khattiya and so not of the same social rank as the Buddha; nevertheless, he claimed a right to a portion of the relics because he belonged to a higher caste. This suggests that Brahmanic social superiority was still in force in that region.

232. MPS, VI, 24 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 164–65).

233. According to *Sv.*, p. 606.

234. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 438–39.

235. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:174c) says that "eight kings" of "eight countries" sought to have the relics divided among them. The import of the equivalent passage in the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:207b) is the same.

236. "Said to the assembled people": *te saṃghe gaṇe etad avocuṃ*. The assembled people, because they were fighting among themselves, did not constitute a "society." All the same they are called *saṃgha* and *gaṇa*, showing that these two terms can be used to denote people who have not formed a society. For this reason, *bhikkhusaṅgha* came to mean "a large number of *bhikkhus*."

237. MPS, VI, 25 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 165–66).

238. "The teacher of forbearance": *khantivādo*. According to Pāli grammar, the correct form of the word is *khantivādī*. In ancient verses in the Pāli scriptures and in Aśoka's inscriptions, living things, including people, are not designated by the word *prāṇin* but by *pāṇa* (= *prāṇa*). The use of *khantivādo* here is perhaps comparable.

239. "Conflict": *sampahāra;* "to fight with weapons" (*āvudha-sampahāra; Sv.*, p. 608). "Over the distribution of the relics": *sarīrabhaṅge siyā sampahāro*. Here the locative *-bhaṅge* expresses purpose (*SKP*, §307, p. 306n).

240. MPS, VI, 25 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 166 G). This verse does not appear in the other versions. However, there is considerable disparity between the equivalent sections of the other texts (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, III, pp. 442–43). From this fact we can assume that the original text had a simple passage like this verse, and that later versions added further explanation (Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, p. 373).

241. It is noteworthy that the mediator of the conflict was not a *bhikkhu* but a Brahmin. This action was typical of the Brahmins' role as judges in ancient times. The name of the person who suggested distributing the relics in eight portions differs with the text. For example, the *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:29b) gives "Hsiang-hsing P'o-lo-men [Brahmin]"; the *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:175a) gives "Fan-chih [Brahmin] T'un-ch'u"; the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 1:190b) gives "Fan-chih [Brahmin] Mao-chüeh"; the *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:207b) says that there was a Brahmin named "T'u-lu-na," while the passage in the *Ta-pan-ni-yüan-ching* quoted in the *Shih-chia-p'u*, fasc. 4 (*T.* 50:75b) has "Fan-chih [Brahmin] T'un-chüeh," which agrees with the *Pan-ni-yüan-ching*. In the Pāli text the person is Doṇa (Skt., Droṇa). This section is absent in the Sanskrit text, but Waldschmidt (p. 444) reconstructs it from the Tibetan as "Dhūmra-sagotro brāmaṇaḥ" ("dhūmara" is a misprint). The equivalent passage in the Tibetan translation of the "Kṣudrakavastu" of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* reads *bramzeḥi rigs bre-bo-dañ-mñam-pa* (p. 445). The word *bre-bo* is the Tibetan translation of *droṇa*, "a measure for dry things as well as fluids, about two pints" (Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, compact ed. [Delhi: Book Faith, 1995], p. 897). Therefore it is likely that the Sanskrit equivalent read "Droṇa-sagotro brāhmaṇaḥ." The Sanskrit original of "Hsiang-hsing P'o-lo-men" was probably "Dhūmra-sagotro brāhmaṇaḥ."

Concerning the name Droṇa (Pāli, Doṇa), Hakuju Ui writes: "Since [this word] denotes a measure, it may have arisen from the measurement of the subdivided relics, and it is not certain that the word refers to the [man's] actual name, although it could also be a place name or a personal name" (Hakuju Ui, *Yakkyōshi kenkyū* [Study of the history of the translations of Buddhist scriptures; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971], p. 522). In India, Droṇa usually appears as a hero's personal name in epic verse. Even today in Madhya Pradesh there is a Jain sacred site called Drongiri. It is certainly very likely that the compiler of the text thought of the measure *droṇa* and made it into the name of a person. Professor Ui says that there is no difference between names like T'un-ch'u, Mao-chüeh, and T'un-chüeh; they are merely variants that occurred in copying.

242. MPS, VI, 25 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 166).

243. "The Moriyas of Pipphalivana": Pipphalivaniyā Moriyā. These people arrived late, perhaps because they had traveled a great distance. In the Pāli text, the Moriyas requested the relics, but in the Sanskrit version, a "Brahmin student named Pippalāyana" (Pippalāyano māṇavas) requested a portion of them. The *Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching* says, "a Brahmin called Huan-wei was sent by the king to seek the relics" (*T.* 1:175a). The *Pan-ni-yüan-ching* mentions "a Brahmin called Wen-wei" (*T.* 1:190b) and the *Yu-hsing-ching* has "a man from Pi-po village" (*T.* 1:30a).

244. MPS, VI, 26 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 166).

245. MPS, VI, 27 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 166–67).

246. "Koliyas": Koliyā, the tribe that the Buddha's mother, Māyā, came from.

247. "This is what happened [in times of old]": This passage seems to have been added in Sri Lanka. Buddhaghosa, however, comments: "The above occurred in India [Jambudīpa-tala]; these words belong to the members of the Third Council [*tatiya-saṅgītikārā*]" (*Sv.*, p. 615).

248. The verse of section 28 is full of mythic elements; it does not necessarily agree with the description of the preceding prose section. Buddhaghosa says that the verse was taught by elders in Sri Lanka (aṭṭha-doṇaṃ cakkhumato sarīran *ti ādi gāthāyo pana Tambapaṇṇi-therehi vuttā; Sv.*, p. 615). It could have been added in Sri Lanka, although the verse itself seems very old. Generally, the prose sections of sutras are thought to be the main text and the verse sections supplementary, but examination of content often shows that the verse itself is older than the prose. The biographies of the Buddha generally include the distribution of the relics as a standard element, but none of the details appear in the verse. It seems that the verse therefore represents a legend of the distribution of the relics that is older than the now dominant version that the prose section relates. To think otherwise would raise serious questions about the content.

249. "Portions": *doṇa* (Skt., *droṇa*); a unit of measurement. "Relics": *sarīraṃ*. The word is in the singular but the meaning is the same as the plural. Professor Makoto Nagai believes that originally the plural was used, but that over time the

singular came to be thought acceptable as well. In the same way, *dhātu* was first used in the plural and later the singular form was also adopted.

250. "India": Jambudīpa, which means "the continent where the *jambu* tree grows."

251. "The city of Gandhāra": Gandhāra-pura, probably the city of Takṣaśilā (now Taxila) in Pakistan. Buddhaghosa does not describe it.

252. "King Kāliṅga": Kāliṅga-rāja. Buddhism became widespread in Kāliṅga (now Orissa) after the time of King Aśoka. Its presence here is therefore problematic. The Sanskrit text has "Kaliṅga-rājan, and the Tibetan text has "Ka-liṅ rgyal-po." The *P'i-nai-yeh tsa-shih*, fasc. 39 (*T.* 24:402b) has "country of Chieh-lu-chia" (羯陵伽国).

253. MPS, VI, 28 (*DN*, vol. 2, pp. 167–68).

254. "The Mallas of Kuśināgarā": Kauśināgarā Mallāḥ. This quotation in the main text is from *Waldschmidt Skt.*, pp. 446–47. "The Mallas of Pāpā": Pāpīyakā Mallāḥ. In Tibetan, *yul-sdig-pa-can*. In the original text the town is Pāpā, not Pāvā. "Bulakas of Calakalpa": Calakalpakā Bulakāḥ. "The Brahmins of Viṣṇu Island": Viṣṇudvīpīyakāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ. "The Kraudyas of Rāmagrāma": Rāmagrāmīyakāḥ Krauḍyāḥ. In the Tibetan, *groṅ-khyer sgra-sgrogs-kyi rgyal-rigs krod-tu* (or *krod-tya*). "Licchavis of Vaiśālī": Vaiśālakānāṃ Licchavayaḥ. "Śākyas of Kāpilavāstu": Kāpilavāstavyāḥ Śākyāḥ.

255. "Varṣākāra, a Brahmin councilor [of the king] in Magadha": Varṣākāro brāhmaṇa-Magadha-mahāmātraḥ (*Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 448).

256. *Waldschmidt Skt.*, p. 448.

257. Another legend says that Aśoka removed only a small part of the relics. *Apara-bhāge Piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā Asoko nāma Dhamma-rājā hutvā so tā dhātuyo gahetvā Jambudīpe vitthārikā akāsi* (*Sv. ad DN*, no. 16, VI, 26 [vol. 2, p. 613]).

258. *Ta-pan-nieh-p'an-ching* (*T.* 1:207c); *Ta-pan-ni-yüan-ching* (*T.* 50:75c).

259. See note 226 in this chapter.

260. W. C. Peppé was described in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* as "a landlord": E. J. Thomas writes, "In 1898 Mr. W. C. Peppé, according to a report by Dr. Bühler, excavated a stūpa now called Piprāvakot, situated on his estate half a mile from the Nepalese frontier and fourteen miles south east of the ruins of Kapilavatthu" (*The Life of Buddha: As Legend and History*, 2d ed. [London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1931], p. 160).

261. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, p. 111 n. 2.

262. These measurements were taken by Keiko Sōda, lecturer at Shōwa Women's University (*Tō o Megutte Tenkaisuru Shakuson Ichidaiki* [Stupas depicting the life of Śākyamuni], *Chūgai Nippō* newspaper, Nov. 10, 1988, p. 1).

263. The urn with the engraving discovered by William Peppé attracted wide interest. The other four relic containers, as well as the coffer, are kept at the Indian Museum in Calcutta. Excavations at Piprāhwā by the Indian Archaeological Department in 1972 discovered more than forty seals, one of which was engraved "Kapilavastu bhikṣu sanghasya." This led to the assertion that Piprāhwā was the site of Kapilavastu. Images include "Inscribed relic containers discovered at Piprāhwā," Indian Museum, Calcutta (*Budda no sekai*, pl. 2-100); "The Piprava reliquary," fourth century B.C.E., Indian Museum, Calcutta (*WOB*, IV, pl. 9).

264. These translations have been evaluated in Zuiryū Nakamura, "Pipurahawa hakkutsu no konjaku to mondaiten" (Excavations at Piprāhwā: Past and present and the points at issue), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 25, no. 2 (March 1977): 110–17. However, scholars have not reached decisive conclusions yet.

John Faithful Fleet, "The Inscription on the *Piprahwa* Vase," *JRAS*, 1907: 130; Émile Senart, "Note sur l'inscription de Piprāwā," *Journal Asiatique* (Paris) 7, no. 1 (Jan.–Feb. 1906): 136; A. Barth, "L'inscription du reliquaire de Piprawa," *Journal des Savants* 4, no. 10 (Oct., 1906): 152; S. Lévi, "L'Inde ancienne," *Journal des Savants* 3, no. 10 (Oct. 1905): 541. Cf. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 152.

265. *Mahāvastu*, vol. 1, p. 136.

266. Fleet, "The Inscription on the *Piprahwa* Vase," 105–30. See especially p. 117ff.

267. The most important materials on this subject are H. Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 10 (Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1912), no. 931; William Claxton Peppé, "The Piprāhwā Stūpa, Containing Relics of Buddha," *JRAS* (1898): 573–78; V. A. Smith, note to Peppe's article "The Piprāhwa Stūpa," *JRAS* (1898): 579–88. A detailed examination necessitates consideration of all the materials collected by Lüders.

268. Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Biographical Notes* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), pp. 13–15. The original English text has been revised here.

269. For example, see Committee for the Celebration of the 2,500th Anniversary of the Buddha's Birth, *Bukkyōgaku no shomondai* (Various issues in Buddhist studies; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1935), p. 275 et seq; Gemmyō Ono, *Bukkyō nendai shikō* (Studies in Buddhist chronology; Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977). Materials discussing the date of the Buddha's nirvana were collected and evaluated by Keishō Tsukamoto in "Bukkyō nendai no shiryō" (Materials concerning the date of the Buddha's nirvana)," *Shūkyō kenkyū*, 33: 4, no. 163 (March 1960): 59–93.

270. Cf. Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933), p. 597.

271. Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū*, vol. 2, pp. 1–112. Dr. Ui emphasized here the inconsistencies in the southern tradition and drew attention to the fact that the northern tradition had been adopted by a large number of sects, both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.

272. W. Pachow, "A Study of the Dotted Record," *JAOS* 85, no. 3 (Sept. 1965): 342–49.

273. Hajime Nakamura, "The Date of the Mauryan Dynasty," *Tohogaku: Eastern Studies*, no. 10 (1955): 1–2. See Nakamura, *Indo kodaishi II*, pp. 409–37.

274. Shih Yin-shun, *Fo-mieh Chi-nien Chüeh-tse-t'an* (A discussion of the dating of the Buddha's nirvana; Hong Kong: Tung-ta-chüeh-yüan, and Taipei: Hao-ch'ao-yin-she, 1951).

275. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 598.

276. Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo kodai seishinshi* (A history of ancient spirituality in India; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1939), p. 339 et seq. Hermann Jacobi, "Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāṇa und die politische Entwicklung Magadhas zu jener Zeit," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 26 (1930).

277. Kōgen Mizuno, "Aikuō jidai ni buha wa sonzai shite ita ka" (Did sectarian Buddhism arise in the time of Aśoka?), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 6, no. 2 (1958): 395. The northern tradition for Aśoka's dates has also been rejected by Kakue Miyaji, "Hoppōden Ashōka ō nendai ni tsuite" (On the chronicles of King Aśoka according to the tradition transmitted by northern Buddhists), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 8, no. 1 (1960): 311–14. Tsukamoto has summarized controversial points in the discussion of the Buddha's dates in "Butsumetsu nendai ni kansuru mondaiten" (Problems of the date of Buddha's nirvana), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 8, no. 2 [1960]: 190–93). Tomojirō Hayashiya believes that the Buddha died in 587 B.C.E. (*Bukkyō oyobi Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* [Study of Buddhism and its history; Tokyo: Kikuya Shoten, 1948], pp. 1–92).

278. For example, Mahānāman's *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Cūlavaṃsa*. The former has been translated by Wilhelm Geiger as *The Mahāvaṃsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912).

279. Nakamura, "Bukkyō kōki no shakaiteki kiban" (The social base for the rise of Buddhism), *Kokoro* 8, no. 11 (Nov. 1955): 38–52. Nakamura, *Indo kodaishi I*, pp. 171–376; Kōri Tokugyō, "Genshi Bukkyō kyōdan no shakaiteki haikei ni taisuru ikkōsatsu" (Concerning the social background of the early Buddhist order), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 2, no. 1 [1953]: 311 et seq.); Shōzen Kumoi, "Butsuda jidai no shakaikan—sono jidaishiteki ichidanmen" (The idea of society in the time of the Buddha), *Ōtani gakuhō* 36, no. 2 (1956): 18–32.

280. See Nakamura, *Indo kodaishi I*, vol. 1, p. 359 et seq. See also Kazuyoshi Kino, "Kodai meimon ni arawareta chōja, koji ni tsuite" (*Gahapati* and *śreṣṭhin* in ancient inscriptions), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (1957): 166 et seq.

281. Yenshō Kanakura, *Indo tetsugakushiyō* (Essence of a history of Indian philosophy; Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1948), p. 77.

282. Heinz Bechert, ed., *The Dating of the Historical Buddha=Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, part 1, Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, vol. 4, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991).

283. *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, VI; *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, VII (*DN*, vol. 1, pp. 116, 132).

284. Often humor can be detected in Sakyamuni's method of teaching. However, the English genius and man of letters John Cooper Powys wrote that Gotama seemed entirely devoid of humor (communication from Ichirō Hara). Perhaps there is a difference here in the English and the Japanese understandings of the concept of humor. It is certainly an issue for discussion.

285. V. Fausböll, ed., *The Jātaka Together with Its Commentary Being Tales of the Interior Births of Gotama Buddha*, vol. 3 (London: Pali Text Society, 1963), pp. 494–95, no. 430.

286. *SN*, I, 7, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 184). This episode is the equivalent of that in the *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 44 (1180) (*T.* 2:319a).

287. "Meeting hall": *sabhā*. "The hall" (the place of council) (Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, trans., *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* [London: Luzac, 1971], p. 233); "die Beratungs halle" (*Geiger SN*, p. 288). The word is translated in the *Tsa a-han-ching* as *ta-huei-t'ang* (大会堂; "great meeting hall") and *chü-huei* (聚会; "assembly").

288. The rule pertaining to the meeting hall (*sabhā-dhamma*) was that "when [people had gathered] and were sitting comfortably, so as not to cause disturbance, people should enter from one side of the hall. Many people entered straight [from the front], which caused a disturbance. The Venerable Master entered straight [from the front]. Thus the others were angry and denigrated the Venerable Master, saying: 'Who are these shaven-headed *samaṇas*? Who among them knows the rules of the meeting hall?'" (*Spk.*, pp. 266–67). In Korea it is not correct to enter the main hall of a temple from the front to worship. A guide invites visitors to do so, but this is only for the sake of politeness. Visitors must decline the offer and enter from a side door. To enter from the front would be impolite. In Japan, too, a latecomer to the *zendō* (meditation hall) in a Zen temple is not allowed to enter by the central front door but must enter by a side entrance.

289. Eshō Yamaguchi, *Yōga no chie* (The wisdom of yoga; Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan, 1987), pp. 53–66; Eshō Yamaguchi, "Butsuda no gudō, dendō ni tsuite" (Concerning the Buddha's search for the way and his teaching ministry), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 37, no. 1 (Dec. 1988): 13–17.

CHAPTER 10: VENERATED AS A HUMAN BEING

1. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 50, *ll.* 20–25; p. 52, *ll.* 5–10.

2. E.g., *Sn.*, 1063, 1069, 1090, 1113, 1116; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G; *Therag.*, 536, 1265.

3. Sakyamuni (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 274 G); Sakyaputta muni (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 267 G); Gotamo Sakyaputto Sakyakulā pabbajito (*Sn.*, p. 103).

4. Their calling him by this name did not mean, however, that they bore him any feeling of enmity. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1898), p. 63 n. 4.

5. *Sn.*, 228, 448, 1057, 1083, 1117, 1135, 1136; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 127 G, 143 G, 180 G; *Therag.*, 375, 536, 1251; *Therīg.*, 136; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 123 G. I have already discussed the name "Gotama" in the English edition of volume 1, pp. 41–42, but would like to add a few further points here. In the *Ṛg Veda*, Gotama was the name of a sage and his descendants (Herman Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, 5th ed. [Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976], col. 411). Manfred Mayrhofer suggests that *tama* may be the superlative attached to *gauḥ* and considers it possible to interpret "Gotama" as "am meisten Rind seiend" or "reicht an Rindern" (*Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 1 [Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1956], p. 346). However he does not seem to be supported in this view by other scholars. In Ogiwara's Sanskrit-Japanese dictionary, the *Bonwa daijiten*, the word "Gotama" is explained as the name of a sage and, in the plural, as referring to his descendants (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p. 436). The literal meaning given is "the greatest bull." This meaning usually does not appear in Sanskrit and Pāli dictionaries, but grammatically that interpretation is feasible. In the Vedas, especially, a small number of stems can be regarded as being true nouns rather than adjectives; at any rate, the difference between adjective and noun is slight, and *-tara, -tama* can be appended as suffixes (William Dwight Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, 5th ed. [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1924, §473, p. 176). This grammatical possibility has given rise to the interpretation "best bull."

The name Gotama appears several times in the *Ṛg Veda*, often in connection with the Aṅgirasa tribe. Some sages surnamed Gotama figure in the *Ṛg Veda* (Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. 1 [London: John Murray, 1912], pp. 234–35). In Sanskrit, "Gautama" means "originating in Gotama," that is, "a descendant of the sage Gotama." Traditional Indian dictionaries, such as the *Amarakośa*, explain "Gautama" as being the same as "Śākyamuni" (*PW*, II, p. 823). The popular derivation is "my sac [ignorance] was removed by cows from the body at birth" (*gobhis tamo mama dhvastaṃ jātamātrasya dehataḥ*, *MBh.*, 13, 4490). That the Sakya warriors used the clan name Gotama is related to the fact that some warrior tribes did claim to have Brahmin *gotras* (Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975], p. 23).

Western scholars call Sakyamuni "Gotama Buddha," emphasizing his religious role (e.g., Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, 13th ed. [Stuttgart: Cotta Verlag, 1959], p. 107). Another version is "Gautama" or "Gautama, the Buddha" (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: Being a Sketch of the Life and Teachings of Gautama, the Buddha* [London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1899], passim). His role as an ascetic is highlighted by the epithet "the ascetic Gotama" (Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, e.g., *DN*, vol. 1, p. 115). In

Hindi, "Gautama" is used to refer to Sakyamuni; the same form appears in Sinhalese, which contains large numbers of loan words from Sanskrit. This fact seems to suggest that the form "Gautama" should be generally used; however, I prefer "Gotama" for three reasons. First, it is easy for the Japanese to pronounce; second, "Gautama" tends to be pronounced "Gotama" by foreign scholars anyway; and third, the "u" of Gautama is generally pronounced "o" by Indians, and some Western scholars have in fact replaced "u" with "o" to reflect the actual pronunciation. Considering these points, I cannot help feeling that certain Western Sanskrit specialists are somewhat divorced from reality. When the Buddha is being considered as the founder of Buddhism, many scholars refer to him as Siddhattha Gotama (for example, Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, *A Manual of Buddhism for Advanced Students* [London: Sheldon Press, 1932, pp. viii, 37]. He is also called Prince Siddhārtha (A. Foucher, *La vie du Bouddha* [Paris: Payot, 1949], p. 142). The prince was given the name Siddhārtha five days after his birth (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 14). However, the personal name Siddhattha does not appear in the earliest sutras; it is found in later texts such as the *Jātaka* Commentary, the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, vol. 3, p. 195; *Dīpavaṃsa*, III, 192; XIX, 18; *Mahāvaṃsa*, II, 24, 25, etc. In the *Mahāvastu* he is called Sarvārthasiddha (G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. 2 [London: Luzac, 1960], p. 1135). The emphasis on the Buddha's personal name seems to derive from Western ideas about nomenclature.

6. *Sn.*, 376.

7. *Therag.*, 119; *Sn.*, 699.

8. *Sn.*, 461, 487.

9. *Sn.*, pp. 86, 91.

10. *Therag.*, 1089, 1219, 1223.

11. Gotamena Buddhena (*Therag.*, 91).

12. *Sn.*, 814, 1028, 1036, 1038, 1047, 1092.

13. In *Therag.* (1179, 1199), a heavenly being, or alternatively Mahābrahmā, called Moggalāna *mārisa*. In *Sn.* (682), the seer used this epithet to refer to Inda (Indra). It appears also in the prose sections.

14. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 180, *ll.* 3–4.

15. *Sn.*, 518, 1064; *Sn.*, IX, "Vāseṭṭhasutta," vv. 594–657, 1059; *AN*, vol. 4, p. 340 G; *Dhp.*, "Brāhmaṇavagga." Cf. *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 1, 7.

16. Brahmins are called *māhaṇa* in the Jain scriptures; this is the vernacular form of *brāhmaṇa*. In an Ardhamāgadhī dictionary, *māhaṇa* has a second meaning: "an ascetic who preaches that none should slay any one." Such a usage appears only in the *Uttarādhyayaṇa-sūtra*, *Āyārāṅga-sūtra*, *Sūyagaḍaṅga*, and *Ṭhāṇaṃga*. This derivation is probably based on the interpretation *ma* + $\sqrt{}$*han*. The concept of a true Brahmin appears in the *Utt.*, XXV, 19–35; in Jainism, too, only in the earliest period was a true practitioner called a *māhaṇa*.

17. *Sn.*, 356, 1025, 1126.

18. *Sn.*, 481, 915, 1054, 1061, 1083; *Therag.*, 533, 713, 868, 870, 900, 1106, 1118; *MN*, vol. 2, p. 100 G; *Itiv.*, 26 G, 35 G, 36 G, 38 G, 84 G.

19. *Āy.*, I, 3, 3, 3; I, 5, 5, 1 (p. 16, *l.* 9; p. 25, *l.* 4); *mahāsi* (*Utt.*, XII, 47). All are in verse.

20. *Sn.*, 1116.

21. "Seventh great sage from among the sages": *isīnaṃ isisattama* (*Therag.*, 1240). "The seventh sage": *isisattama* (*Sn.*, 356; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G).

22. John E. Mitchiner, *Traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1982), reviewed by K. R. Norman, *JRAS* 2 (1983): 318–19.

23. E.g., *Itiv.*, 26; *MN*, vol. 2, pp. 99–100. What appears as *bhagavā* in *Sn.*, 93 is a form of address to a teacher (it is not the nominative; if it were so, the following word would become *brūhi*). In India, disciples use such a form of address with their teachers (for example, *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 5, 1; also, *abhivādya guruṃ brūyād, "adhīṣva bhagavann" iti / "idaṃ kariṣye bhagavann" "idaṃ cāpi hṛtaṃ mayā"* [*MBh.*, VII, 242, v. 23]). The earliest Buddhist texts were influenced by the customs of India in general. Thus when translating from the Pāli, I have translated *bhagavant* as "master" in those places where the Buddha is being described in human terms, especially when being addressed, and as "Venerable Master" where he is being somewhat deified. Bhagavant is translated into Chinese as *shih-tsuen* (世尊; "World-honored One"). In later Jainism, *bhagavān* refers to the deified Jina. In Hinduism, it sometimes refers to the chief deity.

24. *Muni*: *Sn.*, 164, 700, 1052, 1058; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 30 G; *Therag.*, 1257; *Therīg.*, 320. In *Sn.* (527), *muni* is explained. It is close to the definition of *mahāmuni* in Jainism (*Āy.*, I, 6, 2, 2). "Sakyamuni": *Sn.*, 225. Sakyamuni (Pāli) and Śākyamuni (Skt.) are poetic expressions. This form rarely appears in the most ancient texts. *Mahāmuni*: *Therag.*, 1087, 1252; *Therīg.*, 293.

25. *Itiv.*, 53 G; *Therag.*, 896, 897, 1168, 1169.

26. *Muni* means "sage," e.g., *Sn.*, 207. Cf. Śākyamuni. It is generally understood to mean a sage who undergoes his religious training maintaining silence, but this is a late, popular derivation. Buddhaghosa interprets it as follows: Muni *ti monatthāya paṭipannattā appattamuni bhāvo pi muni ce eva vutto lokavohārena vā, lokiyā hi amonasampattam pi pabbajitam munī ti bhaṇanti* (*Pj. ad Sn.*, 414, vol. 2, p. 383). This is the traditional interpretation of southern Buddhism. However, in a later period Śaṃkara understood *muni* to mean "one who contemplates" (*mananān munir yogī bhavatīty arthaḥ* [*ad Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, IV, 4, 22. vol. 64 of Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (Poona: Ānandāśrama mudraṇālya, 1911), p. 691]). This meaning is different from the popular derivation of *muni* as one who preserves *mauna* (silence), but it agrees with the results of modern scholars' study from the standpoint of comparative linguistics. Mayrhofer links *muni* with *mantaye* ("to consider"). According to him, "m. Verzückter, Begeisterter, Weiser, Seher, Asket, Einsiedler (bes. einer, der das Gelübde des Schweigens auf sich genommen hat)/enthusiast, sage, seer, ascetic, hermit (esp. one who has taken the vow of silence) [*Ṛg Veda, Atharva-Veda*, Br. usw.] *mauná-* n. Stand des Muni, Schweigsamkeit, Schweigen (*ŚB. Up.*, usw.). pali *mona-* n. Selbstbeherschung, Weisheit, Minitum" (*Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 2, pp. 654–55).

In the *Ṛg Veda*, *múni* is a masculine noun deriving from the root *man* ("to consider"), meaning 1) causing stimulus, excitement, *Erregung* and 2) a person who falls into a trance, ein *Begeisterter*, *Verzückter*, als Genosse der Götter dargestellt (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 1050). Turner and other scholars view *muni* as being derived from an old form of the verb *munāti* ("to know") (R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* [London: Oxford University Press, 1962], fasc. VIII, p. 588). Supporting this conjecture is the fact that *muta* was used instead of *mata* ("considered") in the oldest stratum of the *Suttanipāta* (*Sn.*, 714, 790, 793, 797–98, 802, 812–13, 887, 1086, 1122). Fausböll did not translate *muni* but left it in its original form. Chalmers translated it as "the Sage." Neumann's translation of it is "der Denker," which is correct etymologically, but a mistake in terms of the usual Western associations of the word "thinker." In the *Suttanipāta*, 207, "sage" (*muni*) refers to "buddha" (the word *buddhamuni* is also found [*Pj.*, vol. 2, p. 258, *l.* 5]). Thus the ideal of *muni* that applies to Brahmanism in general was in no way incompatible with the idea of "buddha." On the surface, it belongs to a pre-Buddhist stage.

27. *Āy.*, I, 6, 1, 5; I, 6, 2, 2; I, 6, 5, 4.

28. From time to time in the *gāthās* it is unclear whether we should translate *muni* as a noun or an adjective. In the following case it should be translated adjectivally: *kāyamuniṃ vācāmuniṃ manomuniṃ anāsavaṃ, munimoneyyasampannaṃ āhu ninhātapāpakan ti* (*Itiv.*, 67 G).

29. *Sn.*, 458, 459.

30. *Sn.*, 322, 472, 479, 503, 528, 529, 733, 749, 846, 890, 947, 1049, 1059, 1060; *AN*, vol. 4, p. 340 G. "One versed in the Vedas" is one interpretation in the commentary (*Vedānaṃ antaṃ gato ti Vedagū*, *MahN.*, p. 205 *ad Sn.*, 846). Other interpretations according to Buddhist technical terms also appear in the *MahN.* They, however, are comparatively late, and there is no doubt that the original meaning of the word was "one expert in the Vedas." In the *MahN.*, though, we do not find the meaning "a scholar of the Vedic scriptures"; rather, one who knows human truth is called "one versed in the Vedas."

31. *Viditaveda*: *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G. *Tevijja*: *AN*, vol. 1, p. 165 G; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G. *Tevijjā* (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 192 G); *tīhi vijjāhi sampanna* (*AN*, vol. 1, p. 165 G); *tisso vijjā anuppattā* (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 235 G).

32. *Brahmapatta*: *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G. *Nahātaka*: *Sn.*, 521, 646; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G.

33. *Śrotiya*: *Sn.*, 534. *Parivrājaka*: *Sn.*, 537.

34. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 81 G, 196 G; *DN*, vol. 3, 196 G; *Therag.*, 536, 1252. This is by no means a form of address confined to the Buddha. Inda (Skt., Indra) called

Bhaddā, daughter of the *gandhabba* (*gandharva*) king, "daughter of the Aṅgīras tribe" (*Aṅgīrasī piyā me 'si dhammo arahatām iva; DN*, vol. 2, p. 265 G). This form of address, though, appears only rarely in the prose sections. (However, there is evidence in the prose sections that Sakyamuni is called "Aṅgirasa," for example, *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 15, 7; vol. 1, p. 25). There is an instance when we find "Aṅgīrasa Gotama" rather than "Gotama Buddha" (*Jātaka*, no. 522, v. 23 [vol. 5, p. 144, *l.* 1]). In the *Ṛg Veda*, Aṅgiras is a semimythical being whose descendants were called the Āṅgirasa. It is said that sages and teachers such as Kṛṣṇa, Ājīgarti, Cyavana, Ayāsya, Saṃvarta, and Sudhanvan were descendants of Aṅgiras. There were just a few lineages of the Āṅgirasa; Brahmanical literature mentions that they were associated with ceremonies such as *ayana* and *dvirātra* (Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 1, pp. 11, 53).

35. *SN*, I, 3, 2, 2, 12 (vol. 1, p. 81).

36. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 14.

37. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 1, p. 21.

38. *Spk.*, p. 152.

39. Karl Friedrich Geldner, trans., *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. 4, *Namen-und Sachregister*, ed. J. Nobel. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 35–36.

40. *Ṛg Veda*, IV, 2, 15. Cf. *sapta priyāsaḥ* (*Ṛg Veda*, IV, 1, 12).

41. *Therag.*, 692–704, 1240; *Vinaya*, vol. 2, p. 195 G.

42. *AN*, vol. 3, p. 346 G.

43. *"Nao" saṃgāmasīse va pārae tattha se mahāvīre* (*Āy.*, I, 9, 3, 1, v. 8).

44. *Soraccaṃ avihiṃsā ca pādā nāgassa te duve* (*Therag.*, 693). *Cattāro hi Buddhā: sabbaññu-Buddho pacceka-Buddho catu-sacca-Buddho suta-Buddho ti. Tattha samatiṃsa pāramiyo pūretvā sammāsambodhiṃ patto sabbaññu Buddho nāma. Kappa-sata-sahassādhikāni dve asaṅkheyyāni pāramiyo pūretvā sayambhūtaṃ patto pacceka-Buddho nāma. Avasesā khīṇāsavā catu-sacca-Buddhā nāma. Bahussutā suta-Buddhā nāma* (*Spk.*, vol. 1, p. 25).

45. E.g., *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G. Cf. *Sn.*, 478, 875, 876.

46. Macdonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 2, p. 182.

47. Incidentally, an Indian acquaintance of mine who is a university lecturer, well versed in logic, and a Hindu believer, had no idea what a *yakṣa* was, and declared he had never heard the word. The *yakṣa* seems to have disappeared from modern Hinduism.

48. P. L. Vaidya, *Sūyagaḍaṅga: The Second Book of the Sacred Canon of the Jains* (Poona: Motīlāla, 1928), II, 2, 1.

49. *Utt.*, V. 24.

50. *Visālisehiṃ sīlehiṃ jakkhā uttarattarā / mahāsukkā va dippantā. . . .* (*Utt.*, III, 14).

51. The date of the Śuṅga dynasty is based on H. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of India*, 6th ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1953), pp. 399–400.

52. *Sn.*, 520. *AN*, vol. 4, p. 340 G, etc.

53. *Sn.*, pp. 105–6, "Selasutta."

54. In *Sn.*, 722, Buddhaghosa interprets *samaṇa* as *buddhasamaṇo* (*Pj.*, p. 500).

"The Buddha, a person of the Way" seems a reasonable interpretation. However, here the word *buddha* is not applied only to the founder of Buddhism and should be understood more generally as meaning an ideal practitioner. The series of verses here does not stress Buddhism in particular. The Pāli texts make no distinction, when referring to the ideal practitioner, between a man of the Way and a Brahmin (samaṇera *samitapāpena brāhmaṇena bāhitapāpena, bhikkhunā bhinnakilesamūlena, sabbākusalamūlabandhā pamuttena; MahN. ad Sn.*, 866). In *Sn.*, 866 it refers to the Buddha (Buddhasamaṇa; *Pj.*, p. 552).

55. Tetsuji Morohashi (*Daikanwa jiten* [Dictionary of Chinese characters; Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1955], vol. 1, p. 710 et seq. 佛 [*fo*]) gives the following Japanese pronunciations of *futsu: buchi, hotsu, bochi, hitsu*, and *bichi*, with *butsu* the most general form. The meaning is given as 1) indistinct, not detailed; 2) to act contrary to, to differ from, to be opposed to; 3) to twist, to cause to act contrary to; 4) disturbed; 5) large, etc. Bernhard Karlgren gives the ancient pronunciation as b'i̯uət, and says that it is the "transcription of the first syllable in *Buddha*" (*Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* [Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul-Geuthner, 1923], p. 48). In Akiyasu Tōdō's *Kanji gogen jiten* (Etymological dictionary of Chinese characters; Tokyo: Gakutōsha, 1990), p. 729, there is no explanation of *fo*. The pronunciation of 弗 (*fu*) is given as pïuət and is said to represent a "hanging cord" or "vine." It is used to emphasize the negative. Thus 拂 (*fu*) means "to shake off" or "expel" and 沸 (*fei*) means "to push against an outlet and gush forth from the opening thus made."

56. *Sn.*, 82, 490, 519, 878–79; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 23 G (concerning the practitioner of Buddhism). The term *kevalin* may be translated as "a perfected person." Buddhaghosa explains the term as: *sabbaguṇaparipuṇṇaṃ, sabbayogavisaṃyuttaṃ vā ti attho* (*Pj.*, p. 153 *ad Sn.*, 82). In Jainism a person who has completely thrown off all shackles is called *kevalin*. Buddhist literature rarely uses this expression, but its unusual appearance in *Sn.*, 490, used in the same way as in Jainism, shows that the composer of the verse lived in a spiritual environment shared by both Buddhism and Jainism. In some cases *kevalin* is interpreted as "a person who has completed all that has to be done" (*pariniṭṭhitakiccatāya* kevalī; *Pj.*, p. 427 *ad Sn.*, 519).

57. *Sn.*, 481, 595; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 9 G, but the reading follows the Siamese version. See *AN*, vol. 5, p. 17 G.

58. In *Bonwa daijiten*, Unrai Ogiwara gives only the translation "an ascetic who engages in meditation," which suggests that this word did not appear in later Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

59. *Sn.*, 955, 957.

60. *Sn.*, 1009, p. 91. Even in Jainism, Jina is called *gaṇin* (e.g., *Dasaveyāliya-sutta*, IX, 1, 15).

61. *DN*, vol. 2, pp. 128 G, 256 G, 262 G, 272 G; *Therīg.*, 336; *Itiv.*, 84 G.

62. *Therīg.*, 252–70.

63. *Āy.*, I, 8, 6, 5; I, 8, 7, 5; *Dasaveyāliya-sutta*, IX, 3, 3.

64. *Yu-hsing-ching* (*T.* 1:17a–b).

65. "Had separated himself from greed": *Sn.*, 11, 214, 465, 499, 507, 529, 1071; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G. "Overcome the defilements": √ji, *Sn.*, 439, 440. "Conquered the forces of Māra": *Sn.*, 561, 563.

66. "A conqueror (*jina*)": *Sn.*, 379, 697, 989, 996; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 275 G; vol. 3, pp. 197–98. G; *Therag.*, 475, 722. "A victor (*vijitasaṃgāma*)": *SN*, vol. 1, p. 233 G; *Itiv.*, 82G; *AN*, vol. 4, p. 340 G.

67. *Sn.*, 543, 562; *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 110 G, 121 G, 121 G, 127 G; *Therag.*, 123, 527; *Therīg.*, 293, 301, 335, 622, 1241, 1279; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 287 G; *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 43 G.

68. *Therag.*, 1154. *Arhan* = *mahāvīra* (*SN*, vol. 3, p. 83 G, new stratum). This is the same usage as in Jainism.

69. *Sn.*, 1096, 1102; *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 50, 51 G; *Therag.*, 47, 528; *Therīg.*, 157.

70. *Āy.*, glossary, p. 102.

71. *Itiv.*, 100 G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 9 G; *Therag.*, 38. Cf. *Pāragū*, *pāragata* (*Itiv.*, 38 G).

72. *Pāragata* (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 228 G); *pāraṃgata* (*Itiv.*, 58 G); *pāragāmin* (*AN*, vol. 4, pp. 232–33 G, 253 G); *jātimaraṇapāragū* (*Therag.*, 1022).

73. *Āy.*, I, 2, 2, 1. Cf. *pāraṃgame muṇī* (*Āy.*, I, 6, 5, 6).

74. *Cakkhumat* ("one with eyes or vision"): *Sn.*, 160, 405, 540, 562, 570, 596, 956, 992, 1028, 1115, 1127; *DN*, vol. 2, pp. 123 G, 166 G, 167 G, 256 G, 262 G, 272 G; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 121 G; *Therag.*, 149, 995; *Dhp.*, 273. *Samantacakkhu* ("one whose eyes are everywhere"): *SN*, vol. 1, p. 137 G; *Sn.*, 346, 378, 1062, 1063, 1068, 1069, 1073, 1090. "Eye of the World": *Sn.*, 599. Later scholars divided *cakkhu* into three types: the physical eye (*maṃsacakkhu*), the divine eye (*dibbacakkhu*), and the eye of wisdom (*paññācakkhu*), sometimes adding the eye of a buddha (*buddhacakkhu*) and the all-seeing eye (*samantacakkhu*) as well. This kind of Abhidharma scholarly analysis is not necessary here, where insight into the Truth is being expressed metaphorically as "eye."

75. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 254 G; *Dhp.*, 273; *Therag.*, 905. Such expressions occur also in the *Bhagavad Gītā* (XI, 8)—*divyaṃ cakṣus*.

76. *Cakkhudāna* (chapter 2 of the stone-pillar edict at Delhi-Joprā, India).

77. "The supreme of all human beings": *purisuttama*: *Sn.*, 544; *SN*, vol. 3, p. 91 G; *Itiv.*, p. 52 G; *Therag.*, 623; *Therīg.*, 144; *AN*, vol. 4, p. 325 G. *Dvipadānaṃ uttamo*: *Therag.*, 1111. It is said that Aśoka, too, called the Buddha "the most wonderful of all human beings" (*narottama*; Anton Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (St. Petersburg: Commissionäre der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1869), p. 36). "The supreme of all living beings": *Therag.*, 623; *Therīg.*, 157. *Appaṭipuggala*: *DN*, vol. 2, p. 287 G. *Anomanāma*: *Sn.*, 153.

78. *Devamanussaseṭṭha*: *Itiv.*, 100 G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 9 G. *Sadevakassa lokassa aggo*: *AN*, vol. 2, p. 17 G. *Lokajeṭṭha*: *Therīg.*, 154.

79. *DN*, vol. 2, p. 275 G.

80. Buddhist texts call a great man *mahāpuruṣa* or *mahāsattva*. In the *Mahābhārata* the word is used in the masculine to mean "a great and pure man" (*MBh.*, XII, 320, 103).

81. *Therag.*, 536.

82. This question is discussed in my *Genshi Bukkyō no seiritsu* (The formation of early Buddhism), vol. 14 of *Nakamura Hajime senshū* (Selected works of Hajime Nakamura; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992).

83. *Yu-hsing-ching* in *Ch'ang a-han-ching* (*T.* 1:13a). Hajime Nakamura, *Yugyō-kyō*, in *Butten kōza* (Lectures on Buddhist scriptures), vol. 1 (Kyoto: Daizō Shuppan, 1984), p. 197.

84. Cf. *Sn.*, 1120. The same passage appears in the Upaniṣads (*Kāṭhaka-Upaniṣad*, V, 11).

85. *Sn.*, 1096–97.

86. *Sn.*, 1102.

87. *Sn.*, 956–57.

88. *Sn.*, 1105.

Chapter 11: The Beginnings of Deification

1. In Jainism, an enlightened person, or Jina, was called "Buddha" (*Utt.*, X, 37; XXV, 34). In the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, the holy men and sages of all religious sects were called "buddhas."

2. *Kalpa-sūtra*, 123 (H. Jacobi, trans., *Jaina Sūtras*, vol. 22 of SBE [Oxford: The University Press, 1884; reprint, Delhi Motilal Banarsidass, 1964], p. 264.

3. Mūḍhāḥ *śiṣṭācāram aṃśe vigītaṃ dṛṣṭvā kṛtsnam api tyajanti svabhāvavādaṃ cānurudhyante, buddhās tu śrutyantaraviruddhaṃ viruddhāṃśamātraṃ tyaktvā tenaiva sadācāreṇa mucyanta iti* (Nīlakaṇṭha *ad MBh.*, XII, 262, 20). In the *Mahābhārata*, too, *naiṣṭhikī buddhi* is used to mean "enlightenment" (*MBh.*, XII, 262, 3).

4. *Satipaññā ca me* buddhā, *cittaṃ ca susamāhitaṃ* (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 120 G).

5. *Therīg.*, 45, 108; *Sn.*, 377; *Itiv.*, 35, 36; *Therag.*, 869, 870.

6. *Sn.*, 558, 560.

7. *Sn.*, 408.

8. The definition and early view of "buddha" appears in *SN*, vol. 1, p. 134 G; *MN*, vol. 2, p. 191 G. Cf. *Sn.*, 454, 486, 570, 571, 572, 957; *Therag.*, 340, 536, 622, 1044, 1230, 1246; *Therīg.*, 157, 201, 320, 336; *Itiv.*, 35 G, 36 G.

9. *Sn.*, 386.

10. "Spoken of": *Therag.*, 201, 204. "Revered": *buddhāna vandanā* (*Therag.*, 679).

11. *Buddhānubuddho yo thero koṇḍañño* (*Therag.*, 679).

12. "By the way, he who is rich in purity is one who understands all things well, yet he is troubled by the world's affairs. / When he knows all there is to know, he grows weary of the things of the world" (*sāttvikas tv atha saṃbuddho

lokavṛttena kliśyate, / yadā budhyati boddhavyaṃ lokavṛttaṃ jugupsate; Mbh., III, 213, 8).

13. This word appears from time to time in verse. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 4 G; *Sn.*, 177, 556, 559, 560, 596, 597, 992, 995; *Therag.*, 287, 354, 513, 907, 912, 1046, 1239, 1253; *Therīg.*, 135, 144, 154, 309; *Dhp.*, 181. The words *buddha* and *saṃbuddha* are also used synonymously (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 140 G).

14. For example, "one who preserves his final body" (*sarīrantimadhārin; Itiv.*, 41 G) is called *saṃbuddha.*

15. *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*, 31, p. 535, n. 43.

16. *Therag.*, 227, 1239. K. R. Norman translates *sammāsaṃbuddha* as "the fully-enlightened one" (*Therag.*, 650).

17. *Sn.*, 478.

18. For example, *Sn.*, 570; *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 137, 140, 150, 151; *Itiv.*, 35 G, 36 G; *Therag.*, 1240; *AN*, vol. 1, p. 8 G; *Therīg.*, 319.

19. In the Vedas: for example, *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 5, 1. In the epics: *abhivādya gurum brūyād, "adhīṣva bhagavann" iti / "idaṃ kariṣye bhagevann" "idaṃ cāpi kṛtaṃ mayā"* (*MBh.*, XII, 242, 23).

20. For example, *Upadeśasāharsrī*, II, 74, 90, etc.

21. *Sn.*, 93, 113, 344, 358, 383, 482, 489, 504, 505, 513, 518, 523, 528, 533, 548, 566, 570, 1025, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1057, 1058, 1061, 1079, 1081, 1096. Compare *Sn.*, 91, for example, though it does not appear here as an epithet.

22. Already in the "Pārāyana-vagga" of the *Suttanipāta*, Gotama is called "bhagavat." In the first *gāthās* of the *Āyārāṅga-sūtra*, too, Mahāvīra is called "bhagavat."

23. "Bhagavat" is generally translated into Chinese as Shih-tsuen (世尊; "World-honored One"). An expression that has virtually the same meaning is *lokanātha*, "lord of the world." (*Therag.*, 921; *Therīg.*, 307).

24. *Diṭṭho hi me so* bhagavā *antimo 'yaṃ samussayo / vikkhīṇo jātisaṃsāro n'atthi dāni punabbhavo* (*Therag.*, 22).

25. The epithet "bhagavat" is usually translated into English as "Lord." "The rendering of this word with 'Blessed One' (based on the interpretation of the compound as *bhaga*, 'happiness' + *vat*, 'having'), is hardly right, as is proved by the meaning of the shortened *bhagos* and *bhos*. Bhagavat is essentially the same word as Slavonic *bogatŭ*, 'rich'; Russian *bogačŭ*, 'a rich man'; a meaning naturally passing into that of 'a lord.' It bears to the shortened Vedic vocative *bhagos* and the still shorter *bhos* nearly the same relation as French *seigneur* to *monsieur* and English *sir.* Nothing is more common than that words properly meaning dominus are applied to ecclesiastical worthies; e.g., Dom, Domine, Kuningas, Rabbi, etc." (H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* [Strasbourg: Trübner, 1898], p. 63 n. 4).

26. *DN*, XXVII, 9 (vol. 3, p. 84).

27. "Revered Master (Bhagavat)": Rummindei Ed.; Sāñcī I, no. 21. "Buddha": Budha, Bhaṭṭiprolu no. 4. "Bhagavat Buddha": Piprāhwā vase; Calcutta-Bairat Ed.

28. Rummindei Ed.

29. According to Heinrich Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About A.D. 400 with the Exception of Those of Aśoka*, appendix to *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 10 [Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1912], "bhagavat" is generally an epithet of the Buddha. However, in no. 902 (= Bharaut, no. 160), it is an epithet of Mahādeva, and there are also numerous instances where it is used as an epithet of the founder of Jainism. In no. 6 (Ghasundī Inscription) it is an epithet of the deities Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, in no. 1327 (Gunapadeya Inscription) for Nārāyaṇa, and in no. 1194 (Inscription of King Vijayadevavarman) a divine epithet of Cittarathasāmi (= Citraratha-svāmie). In no. 910 (the inscription on a statue at Deoriyā) there is said to be an image "bhagavat pitamaha" [*sic*]. (This undoubtedly refers to the Buddha, all the same.) No. 101 (Jain relief at Mathurā) refers to "bhagavat Nemesa"; in no. 85, it is an epithet of Nāga Dadhikarṇa.

30. *Dhp.*, 195.

31. Sakyamuni was called "arahat" (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 124 G, 125 G; *AN*, vol. 2, p. 34 G; *Therag.*, 185; *Therīg.*, 318).

32. "Perfect man": 真人.

33. "[He who] follows the path with one mind is called Arhat. An Arhat is a perfect man, unstained in voice or body" (*T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-chi-ching* [*T.* 3:475a]).

34. "[He] saw a bird in a suchlike [splendid] form" (*dvijaṃ dṛṣṭvā tathāgatam; Mbh.*, XII, 146, 26).

35. The word *tathāgata* was applied as an epithet to the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha:

tathāgataṃ . . . Buddhaṃ namassāma (*Sn.*, 236)
tathāgataṃ . . . Dhammaṃ namassāma (*Sn.*, 237)
tathāgataṃ . . . Saṅghaṃ namassāma (*Sn.*, 238)

Fausböll translated *tathāgata* as "perfect."

36. Oldenberg translated *tathāgata* as "der Vollendete" (H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, 13th ed. [Stuttgart: Cotta Verlag, 1959], p. 312.

37. In the Jain scriptures: *tahāgaya*, e.g., *Sūy.*, I, 13, 2; *Āy.*, I, 3, 3, 3. In the Pāli scriptures: the theory of Sañjaya in the *Sāmaññaphala-suttanta* (*DN*, no. 2).

38. *Sn.*, 1114; *Vinaya*, vol. 1, p. 43 G.

39. *Therag.*, 1205, 1206.

40. *Khīṇāsavo bhikkhu* (*SN*, vol. 3, pp. 109–15), especially §34.

41. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 50 G, 51 G.

42. *Therag.*, 536, 905, 974; *Therīg.*, 249, 250; *Sn.*, 697; MPS, VI, 10. Also, *lokavidū* is called *tādisa* (*AN*, vol. 1, p. 150 G).

In Pāli, *tādi;* Skt., *tāyi, tāyī; tāyinā* in the instrumental case; *tāyinaḥ* in the genitive case. It appears also in *Udāna-varga*, I, 2; IV, 7c; XVII, 12b; XIX, 2–3; XXIX, 35b; XXXII, 1, 2, 3, etc. Later, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, *tāyin* was regarded as synonymous with *trāyin*, and was translated as "savior." It was translated

into Tibetan as *skyob pa po* (for example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Udānavarga*). The original meaning, however, is "one who is of that special sort" (*tāyin* = *tādi* (← *tādṛś*). "Der Derartige, d.h., der so ist, wie die Befol gung des Heilsweges den Menschen macht, ein erfolgreicher Vollender des Heilspfades" (*Franke DN*, p. 88 n. 2; p. 104 n. 1; p. 245 n. 8). Concerning changes in the word's form, see *BSBU*, §108, pp. 92–93. For examples of its use in India outside Buddhism, see Nakamura, *Vēdānta tetsugaku no hatten* (Development of the Vedanta philosophy; Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1955), pp. 500–501. Refer also to the final verse in each section of the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ*.

43. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 153 G, 167 G; vol. 2, p. 284 G; *DN*, vol. 1, 99 G; vol. 3, pp. 98 G, 196–97 G; *MN*, vol. 1, p. 358 G; *AN*, vol. 4, p. 238 G. One who had perfected his practice was called *caraṇavat* ("one who was endowed with action"; *Sn.*, 533, 536). In Jainism, too, it was said that *vijjācaraṇa* alone would be trustworthy practitioners (*Sūy.*, I, 13, 11).

44. *Bhagavad Gītā*, V, 18.

45. *Sn.*, 411, 412, 416. See also vol. 1 of the English version of *Gotama Buddha*, pp. 372–73.

46. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 54 G; *Sn.*, 551.

47. *Sn.*, p. 21. Sakyamuni was called *muṇḍaka samaṇa* (*SN*, I, 7, 1, 1, 4 [vol. 1, p. 160, *l.* 15]; *Spk.*, vol. 1, pp. 226–27).

48. For example, *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 30 G, 52 G, 124 G, 125 G; *Therīg.*, 135, 368, 389; *Therag.*, 185, 869, 889, 1238; *Sn.*, p. 79; *Dhp.*, 285. The Vedantists called Sakyamuni "Sugata" (*Ratnaprabhā*, *ad* II, 2, 18).

49. The epithet "Sugata" was translated into Chinese as Shan-shih (善逝) in many cases, but it was also rendered as Shan-ch'ü (善趣 ; *T.* 2:666c). *MN*, vol. 1, p. 22, *l.* 32.

50. *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, §44, v. 6.

51. Śaṅkara called Buddhism "Saugata-samaya" (*Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, II, 2, 19).

52. "Charioteer of men who are to be tamed": *purisadammasārathi* (*Therag.*, 216); *naradammasārathi* (*Therag.*, 1111). "The best and foremost of charioteers": *sārathīnaṃ varuttama* (*Therag.*, 132).

53. "Control the horse": *galiya* (controlled horse) in *Utt.*, I, 12; 37.

54. *Assadammasārathi* (*AN*, vol. 2, p. 12); "horse-rider" (*assāroha; SN*, vol. 4, p. 310).

55. *Purisadammasārathi* is translated into Chinese as *t'iao-yü-chang-fu* (調御丈夫).

56. *Satthā devamanussānaṃ*.

57. *Satthā lokassa sadevakassa* (*MN*, vol. 2, p. 100 G).

58. *Sn.*, p. 103.

59. For example, *Therīg.*, introductory verse.

60. In the following phrase, Tathāgata is not included: *so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī satthā devamanussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā, so imaṃ lokaṃ . . . pavedeti* (*Sn.*, p. 103). However, the most usual form appears to be *bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho* (e.g., *DN*, vol. 2, p. 51).

61. *Sn.*, 377.

62. *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 6, 11–12 (vol. 1, p. 9).

63. *Ssu-fen-lü*, fasc. 32 (*T.* 22:787c).

64. *MN*, no. 140, *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* (vol. 3, pp. 237–47). *Fen-pieh liu-chieh-ching* in *Chung a-han-ching*, fasc. 42 (162) [*T.* 1:690a–92b].

65. The Chinese translation used the word *chün* (君; "gentleman"). *MN*, no. 140, *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* (vol. 3, pp. 246–47).

66. *MN*, vol. 3, pp. 246–47.

67. *MN*, vol. 3, p. 247.

68. *Sn.*, 224.

69. "'Transcendent deitiy' (*atideva*)": *Therag.*, 489. "'God of gods' (*devadeva*)": *Therag.*, 533, 1279.

70. *Buddho ti maṃ dhārehi* (*AN*, vol. 2, pp. 38, 39 G).

71. *Manussabhūtaṃ sambuddhaṃ . . . namassanti* (*Therag.*, 689–90).

72. *Pāṭihīrāni Gotamassa* (*Therag.*, 375). Cf. *Therag.*, 901.

73. "'Powerful' (*balappatta*)": *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 110 G, 158 G; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 157 G. "'The one having the ten powers' (*dasabala*)": *Therag.*, 457, 477. Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 63.

74. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 50, 51 G.

75. *AN*, vol. 4, p. 235 G.

76. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 121 G.

77. *Sn.*, 1122. Such an expression can sometimes be found in the oldest Upaniṣads.

78. *Therag.*, 131.

79. *Āy.*, p. 39, *l.* 15; p. 40, *l.* 29; *Sūy.*, II, 6, 19; *Dasaveyāliya-sutta*, passim.

80. *Samaṇenaṃ bhagavayā Mahāvīreṇaṃ* (*Uvāsagadasāo*, 2, etc.). *samaṇassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa* (*Uvāsagadasāo*, 166, etc.). Gosāla and Mahāvīra were spoken of in an inflatedly respectful way: *mahāmāhaṇe uppannaṇāṇadaṃsaṇadhare tīyapaḍupannamaṇāgagajāṇae arahā jiṇe kevalī savvaṇṇū savvadarisī telokkavahiyamahiyapūie sadevamaṇuyāsurassa logassa accaṇijje vandaṇijje sakkāraṇijje sammāṇaṇijje kallāṇaṃ devayaṃ ceiyaṃ* (*Uvāsagadasāo*, 187, 193)

81. The Buddha was believed to be endowed with auspicious marks: *ākiṇṇavaralakkhaṇa* (*Sn.*, 408); *lakkhaṇasampanna* (*Sn.*, 409); *mahāpurisalakkhaṇa* (*Sn.*, 548–54).

82. "Radiance": *pajjoto*. "Die Leuchte" (*Geiger SN*, p. 24). The Chinese equivalent is translated as *kuang-ming* (光明; "light" or "radiance"). *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 49 (1310) (*T.* 2:360b).

83. "The Buddha": *sambuddha*. The Chinese text translates this expression as (仏; "Buddha").

84. *SN*, I, 1, 3, 6 (vol. 1, p. 15). This passage also appears in the Chinese translation, *Tsa a-han-ching*, fasc. 49 (1310) (*T.* 2:360b).

85. Hakuju Ui, *Indo tetsugaku kenkyū* (Studies in Indian philosophy), vol. 3 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1982), pp. 367–68.

86. MPS, IV, 38 (*DN*, vol. 2, p. 134).

87. According to *Therīg.* (333), the Buddha emitted a golden color and his skin was golden.

88. That the Buddha and a wheel-rolling king were each endowed with the thirty-two marks of greatness (*dvattiṃsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni*) appears in the prose section (*Sn.*, p. 106ff.). A few of the marks are mentioned in verse (*DN*, vol. 3, pp. 149 G, 150 G, 152 G–179 G; *DN*, vol. 2, p. 17ff., etc.). There is a story in which the Brahmin Brahmāyu asked to show him two of the marks—a concealed penis and a long tongue (*MN*, no. 91, *Brahmāyu-sutta*, vol. 2, p. 143 G). Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62. Concerning the mark *anavalohitamūrdhatā* (an invisible protuberance on the top of the head), see Hebert Durt, "Note sur l'origine de l'Anavalokitamurdhatā," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16, no. 1 (Dec. 1967): 450 et seq.

89. Alex Wayman, "Contributions Regarding the Thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person," *Sino-Indian Studies* 5, nos. 3–4 (Liebenthal Festschrift, 1957), pp. 1–18.

90. For example, *Vinaya*, "Mahāvagga," I, 20, 16.

91. *Tiṇṇassa tārayantassa Bhagavato* (*MN*, vol. 1, p. 386 G).

92. *MN*, vol. 2, p. 100 G; *mahākāruṇika* (*Therag.*, 475, 722); *sabbabhūtānukampin* (*AN*, vol. 1, p. 9 G).

93. *Therag.*, 132, 1236; *SN*, vol. 1, p. 192 G.

94. *SN*, vol. 1, pp. 50, 51 G. Jainism says the same thing about its founder (*Āy.*, I, 6, 5, 4).

95. *Bhisakka* (*AN*, vol. 4, p. 340 G); *sabbalokatikicchaka* (*Therag.*, 722); *mahābhisakka* (*Therag.*, 1111); *salakatta* (*Sn.*, 560, 562).

96. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 144 G.

97. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 35 G = p. 50 G.

98. *Sūy.*, I, 6, 7.

99. *DN*, vol. 3, pp. 148 G, 158 G. Cf. *Itiv.*, 24 G.

100. *AN*, vol. 4, pp. 89–91 G.

101. *Therag.*, 914.

102. *Therīg.*, 312–13.

103. *SN*, vol. 1, p. 140 G; *AN*, vol. 1, p. 21 G.

104. *Āy.*, I, 4, 1, 1 (p. 17, *l.* 16).

105. *Buddheh' eyaṃ paveiyaṃ* (*Āy.*, I, 6, 1, 3, p. 27).

106. *Sn.*, 356. The idea is also dealt with in detail in *DN*, no. 14, *Mahāpadāna-suttanta*, vol. 2, pp. 1–2. *Therag.* 490 names the seven buddhas of the past. In the period of Bhaddaka Kappa three leaders (*nāyaka*) appear, called Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa. Also, "I have appeared as Saṃbuddha," and "In the future in the same Bhaddaka Kappa, Saṃbuddho Metteyyo will appear" (Prof. Minayeff, ed., *Anāgata-vaṃsa*, *Journal of the Pali Text Society* [1886]: 34).

107. Vipassī, Sikhī, Vessabhū, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, Kassapa, and Sakyaputta (or Gotama) are recorded as the nominative case (*DN*, vol. 3, p. 195 G; *Therag.*, 490, 491). Koṇāgamana is referred to in *Therīg.*, 518. In the prose sections, for example, the seven buddhas are seen in *DN*, vol. 2, p. 2. Their Sanskrit forms are given in the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* as Vipaśyin, Sikhin, Viśvabhuj, Krakasunda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, and Śākyamuni. Krakasunda does not appear anywhere else; the usual form is Krakucchanda. Cf. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven: Yale University, 1953), s.v. *Krakucchanda*.

The cult of the seven buddhas of the past endured into later times. In the *Dharmasaṃgraha*, VI, the Sapta Tathāgatāḥ are given as Vipaśyī, Śikhī, Viśvabhūḥ, Krakucchandaḥ, Kanakamuniḥ, Kāśyapaḥ, and Śākyamuniś ceti. *The Saptabuddha-stotra* (In praise of the seven buddhas) also appeared (Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 2 [Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1933], p. 378). In northern Buddhsim, the seven buddhas were called the "human buddhas" (*mānuṣi-buddha*). Twenty-four buddhas and thirty-two buddhas of the past also appeared (Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 63–64). For the seven buddhas of the past, see Ernst Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908), pp. 96–104. For the idea of multiple buddhas, see Mitsuyoshi Saegusa, "Hotoketachi 1" (Buddhas [1]), *Kokugakuin zasshi* 68, no. 11 (Nov. 1967): 57–65, and "Hotoketachi 2," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 68, no. 12 (Dec. 1967): 28–37.

108. *SN*, VIII, 8 (vol. 1, pp. 192–93).

109. The Sanskrit text is Ernst Waldschmidt, ed., *Das Mahāvadānasūtra*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953, 1956), reviewed by F. Edgerton, *JAOS* 77, no. 3 (July–Sept. 1857): 227–32.

110. To my recollection this buddha does not appear in the sutras as a whole or in the *gāthā* sections of the *Vinaya* (except in the *Jātaka*). Studies of Dīpaṃkara in Japanese include Chizen Akanuma, "Nentōbutsu no kenkyū" (Study of Dīpaṃkara), *Bukkyō kenkyū* 6, no. 3 (1925); and Kaijō Ishikawa, "Nentōbutsu shisō ni kansuru kōsatsu" (Thought of Dīpaṃkara), in *Shimizu Ryūzan Sensei kinen rombunshū* (A collection of essays in commemoration of Professor Ryūzan Shimizu), Dec. 1940.

111. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a). See James Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York: Paragon Reprint Corp., 1964), pp. 63–64.

112. *Kao-seng Fa-hsien-chuan* (*T.* 51:861a).

113. *Ta-T'ang hsi-yü-chi*, fasc. 6 (*T.* 51:900c). See Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 2 (1884; Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1969), p. 13.

114. *Ye keci Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gatāse, na te gamissanti apāyabhūmiṃ / pahāya mānusaṃ dehaṃ, devakāyaṃ paripunessantīti* / / (*SN*, vol. 1, p. 27 G).

115. On the stupa is engraved the Nigāli Sāgar Edict, which says that Aśoka erected the stupa for the Buddha.

116. King Aśoka donated one hundred thousand pieces of gold to the four places of pilgrimage. *Rājñā Aśokena Jātau Bodhau Dharmacakre Parinirvāṇe ekaikaśata-sahasraṃ dattam* (*Divyāv.*, p. 397). His inscriptions confirm that he visited Lumbinī, Bodhgayā, and Sārnāth. He probably visited Kapilavastu as well, since it was on the way to and not far from Lumbinī.

117. *Sn.*, 538–47, 548–73.

Appendix
Chinese Buddhist Sources

Following are the Chinese sources cited in the text and the notes. *T.* stands for *Taishō Shinshū Daizō-kyō* (a compilation of sacred Buddhist works popularly called *Taishō Tripiṭaka*), ed. Junjirō Takakusu et al., 55 vols., Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1924–29. The first number after *T.* is the volume number, followed by the page number. Letters indicate the column, followed by the work's number within the compilation.

Ch'ang a-han-ching (長阿含経; 22 fascicles [*T.* 1:1a–149c, no. 1]), collection of long discourses and the first of the so-called four Āgama sutras, translated by Buddhayaśas and Chu Fo-nien in 412–13. This collection corresponds to the Pāli *Dīgha-Nikāya.* The following are included in this collection: *A-mo-chou-ching* (阿摩昼経 [*T.* 1:82a–88b]); *Ch'ing-ching-ching* (清浄経 [*T.* 1:72c–76b]); *Chiu-luo-t'an-t'ou-ching* (究羅檀頭経 [*T.* 1:96c–101b]); *Chung-chi-ching* (衆集経 [*T.* 1:49b–52c]); *Chung-te-ching* (種徳経 [*T.* 1:94a–96c]); *Hsiao-yüan-ching* (小縁経 [*T.* 1:36b–39a]); *Luo-hsing fan-chih-ching* (倮形梵志経 [*T.* 1:102c–4c]); *San-t'o-na-ching* (散陀那経 [*T.* 1:47a–49b]); *Ta-pen-ching* (大本経 [*T.* 1:1b–10c]); *Yu-hsing-ching* (遊行経 [*T.* 1:11a–30b]).

Chung a-han-ching (中阿含経; 60 fascicles [*T.* 1:421a–809c, no. 26]), collection of middle-length discourses and the second of the four Āgama sutras, translated by Saṃghadeva in 397–98. This collection corresponds to the Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya.* Included in this collection are: *Chien-mao-ching* (箭毛経 [*T.* 1:781b–86b]); *Fa-chuang-yen-ching* (法荘厳経 [*T.* 1:795b–97c]); *Fen-pieh liu-chieh-ching* (分別六界経 [*T.* 1:690a–92b]); *Jou-juan-ching* (柔軟経 [*T.* 1:607b–8c]); *K'u-yin-ching* (苦陰経 [*T.* 1:584c–88a]); *Lo-mo-ching* (羅摩経 [*T.* 1:775c–78c]); *Shih-chien-ching* (世間経 [*T.* 1:645b–c]; *Ta-yin-ching* (大因経 [*T.* 1:578b–82b]); *Ti-tung-ching* (地動経 [*T.* 1:477b–78b]); *Wei-ts'eng-yu-fa-ching* (未曾有法経 [*T.* 1:469c–71c]); *Yu-t'an-*

p'o-lo-ching (優曇婆邏経 [*T.* 1:591b–95c]); *Yu-t'o-lo-ching* (優陀羅経 [*T.* 1:603a–b]).

Pieh-i Tsa a-han-ching (別訳雑阿含経; 16 fascicles [*T.* 2:374a–492a, no. 100]), another collection of discourses.

Tsa a-han-ching (雑阿含経; 50 fascicles [*T.* 2:1a–373b, no. 99]), collection of grouped discourses and the third of the Āgama sutras, compiled in the present form in the fourth or fifth century and translated into Chinese by Guṇabhadra (394–468). This collection roughly corresponds to the Pāli *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*.

Tseng-i a-han-ching (増一阿含経; 51 fascicles [*T.* 2:549a–830b, no. 125]), collection of discourses treating enumerations and the fourth Āgama sutras; it corresponds to the Pāli *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*. This collection was completed in the second or third century, translated by Dharmanandi (fl. fourth century) with the help of Chu Fo-nien in 384–85, and amended by Tao-an (312–85).

A-p'i-ta-mo chü-she-lun (阿毘達磨倶舎論; 30 fascicles [*T.* 29:1a–159b, no. 1558]), treatise written by Vasubandhu and translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang (ca. 596–664) in 651–54.

A-yü-wang-ching (阿育王経; 10 fascicles [*T.* 50:131b–70a, no. 2043]), compiled in 512 and translated by Saṃghavarman (460–524).

Ch'ang-a-han shih-pao-fa-ching (長阿含十報法経; 2 fascicles [*T.* 1:233b–41c, no. 13]), translated into Chinese by An Shih-kao (d. ca. 170 C.E.).

Chang-suo-chih-lun (彰所知論; 2 fascicles [*T.* 32:226a–37a, no. 1645]), treatise on Buddhist cosmology and human life expounded to the first Yüan-dynasty emperor Kublai Khan's crown prince by Ḥphags-pa (1235–80), the leader of the Tibetan Buddhist sect Sa-skya. This was translated by Sarpa (1259–1314).

Ch'i-chih-ching (七知経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 1:810a–b; no. 27]), translated by Chih Ch'ien (third century).

Chi-i-men-lun (集異門足論; 20 fascicles [*T.* 26:367a–453b, no. 1536], formally, *A-p'i-ta-mo chi-i-men-lun* (阿毘達磨集異門足論), translated by Hsüan-tsang in 660–663.

Ching-fan-wang pan-nieh-p'an-ching (浄飯王般涅槃経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 14:781a–83b, no. 512]), translated by Chü-ch'ü Ching-sheng (fifth century).

Chin-kuang-ming tsui-sheng-wang-ching (金光明最勝王経; 10 fascicles [*T.* 16:403–56c, no. 665]), translated by I-ching (635–713) in 703.

Ch'i-shih-ching (起世経; 10 fascicles [*T.* 1:310a–65a, no. 24]), translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta (523–600). The original text seems to be the same as the next sutra.

Ch'i-shih-yin-pen-ching (起世因本経; 10 fascicles [*T.* 1:365a–420a, no. 25]), translated by Dharmagupta (d. 619).

Chung-hsü-mo-ho-ti-ching (衆許摩訶帝経; 13 fascicles [*T.* 3:932a–75c, no. 191]), translated by Fa-hsien (d. 1001) during 989–99.

Chung-pen-ch'i-ching (中本起経; 2 fascicles [*T.* 4:147c–63c, no. 196]), formed around the first century. The theories hold that this was translated by K'ang Meng-hsiang, that this was the translation of K'ang Meng-hsiang and Chu Ta-li, or that this was translated by Tao-an in 207 and was continued by K'ang Meng-hsiang.

Chung-t'ien-chu She-wei-kuo ch'i-yüan-ssu t'u-ching (中天竺舎衛国祇洹寺図経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 45:882b–95c, no. 1899]), compiled by Tao-hsüan (596–667) in 667.

Ch'u-san-tsang-chi-chi (出三蔵記集; 15 fascicles [*T.* 55:1a–114a, no. 2145]), catalogue compiled by Seng-yu (445–518) in 510–18.

Fang-kuang ta-chuang-yen-ching (方広大荘厳経; 12 fascicles [*T.* 3:539a–617b, no. 187]), translated by Divākara (612–87).

Fang-teng pan-ni-yüan-ching (方等般泥洹経; 2 fascicles [*T.* 12:912a–28c, no. 378), translated by Dharmarakṣa (239–316).

Fen-pieh kung-te-lun (分別功徳論; 5 fascicles [*T.* 25:30a–52c, no. 1507]). The translator is unknown.

Fo-ch'uei pan-nieh-p'an lüeh-shuo chiao-chiai-ching (仏垂般涅槃略説教誡経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 12:1110c–12b, no. 389]), briefly, *Fo-i-chiao-ching* (仏遺教経), translated by Kumārajīva (344–413).

Fo-k'ai-chiai fan-chih a-p'o-ching (仏開解梵志阿颰経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 1:259c–64a, no. 20]), translated by Chih Ch'ien (third century).

Fo-mu pan-jo po-lo-mi-to yüan-chi-yao-i-lun (仏母般若波羅蜜多円集要義論; 1 fascicle [*T.* 25:912c–14a, no. 1518]), translated by Dānapāla (fl. tenth century).

Fo-mu pan-ni-yüan-ching (仏母般泥洹経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 2:869b–70c, no. 145]), translated by Hui-chien in 457.

Fo-pan-ni-yüan-ching (仏般泥洹経; 2 fascicles [*T.* 1:160b–75c, no. 5]), translated by Pai Fa-tsu.

Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching (仏本行集経; 60 fascicles [*T.* 3:655a–932a, no. 190]), translated by Jñānagupta (523–600) in 587–91.

Fo-shou chuan-fa-lun-ching (仏説転法輪経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 2:503b–c, no. 109]), translated by An Shih-kao (d. ca. 170).

Fo-shou shih-erh-yu-ching (仏説十二遊経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 4:146a–47b, no. 195]), composed around the first to the third century and translated by Kālodaka in 392.

Fo-shou Yü-yeh-ching (仏説玉耶経; 1 fascicle [*T.* 2:863c, no. 142]). The translator is not known.

Fo-suo-hsing-tsan (仏所行讃; 5 fascicles [*T.* 4:1a–54c, no. 192]), compiled around the first to second century by Aśvaghoṣa and translated into Chinese by Pao-yün (375?–449). Another theory holds that this work was translated by Dharmakṣema (385–433) in 412–21.

Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai (仏祖歴代通載; 22 fascicles [*T.* 49:477a–735a, no. 2036]), a chronological history of Buddhism by Nen-ch'ang (1282–1343?) in 1341.

Hsing-ch'i-hsing-ching (興起行経; 2 fascicles [*T.* 4:163c–174b, no. 197]), translated by K'ang Meng-hsiang.

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A careful study of these materials is essential for future research.

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In *Gotama Buddha,* Professor Hajime Nakamura embarks on a search for the details of the historical Buddha's life. He conducts an exhaustive analysis of both the oldest, most reliable texts and later biographies of the Buddha that contain mythological material. Carefully sifting these texts to separate facts from embellishments, he constructs a biography that begins with the Indian historical context at the time of the Buddha's birth and takes the reader through all the stages of his life. Professor Nakamura also compares the oldest Buddhist texts with the earliest Jain and Hindu writings and finds surprising similarities that elucidate the significance of the historical Buddha. Archeological discoveries and factual elements from Buddhist art support Professor Nakamura's fascinating story. In volume 2 he traces the Buddha's final journey from Rājagaha toward his birthplace of Kapilavatthu, details the many events of the Buddha's death, and discusses the beginnings of his deification.

Hajime Nakamura (1912–99), a world-renowned authority on Indian philosophy, was president of the Eastern Institute, Tokyo, and a professor emeritus of the University of Tokyo. He was engaged for many years in extensive research on Asian thought and religion. Among his other works translated into English are *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People, A Comparative History of Ideas,* and *Gotama Buddha,* volume 1.

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